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DISSERTATION VII.

ON THE

CHINESE.

BEING THE SEVENTH ANNIVERSARY DISCOURSE
DELIVERED TO THE SOCIETY FEB. 25, 1790.

GENTLEMEN,

ALTHOUGH we are at this moment considerably nearer to the frontier of *China* than to the farthest limit of the *British* dominions in *Hindustán*, yet the first step that we shall take in the philosophical journey which I propose for your entertainment at the present meeting, will carry us to the utmost verge of the habitable globe known to the best geographers of old *Greece* and *Egypt*; beyond the boundary of whose knowledge we shall discern, from the heights of the northern mountains, an Empire nearly equal in surface to a square of fifteen degrees; an Empire, of which I do not

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mean to assign the precise limits, but which we may consider, for the purpose of this Dissertation, as embraced on two sides by *Tartary* and *India*, while the ocean separates its other sides from various *Asiatick* isles of great importance in the commercial system of *Europe*: annexed to that immense tract of land is the peninsula of *Corea*, which a vast oval basin divides from *Nipon* or *Japan*; a celebrated and imperial island, bearing in arts and in arms, in advantage of situation, but not in felicity of government, a pre-eminence among eastern kingdoms analogous to that of *Britain* among the nations of the west. So many climates are included in so prodigious an area, that while the principal emporium of *China* lies nearly under the tropick, its metropolis enjoys the temperature of *Samarkand*: such too is the diversity of soil in its fifteen provinces, that, while some of them are exquisitely fertile, richly cultivated, and extremely populous, others are barren and rocky, dry and unfruitful, with plains as wild or mountains as rugged as any in *Scythia*; and those either wholly deserted, or peopled by savage hordes, who, if they be not still independent, have been very lately subdued by the perfidy, rather than the valour, of a monarch, who has perpetuated his own breach of faith in a *Chinese* poem, of which I have seen a translation.

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THE word *China*, concerning which I shall offer some new remarks, is well known to the people whom we call the *Chinese*; but they never apply it (I speak of the learned among them) to themselves, or to their country: themselves, according to Father VISDELOU, they describe as the *people of HAN*, or of some other illustrious family, by the memory of whose actions they flatter their national pride; and their country they call *Chûm-cuë*, or the *Central Kingdom*, representing it in their symbolical characters by a parallelogram exactly bisected: at other times they distinguish it by the words *Tien-hia*, or *What is under Heaven*, meaning *all that is valuable on Earth*. Since they never name themselves with moderation, they would have no right to complain, if they knew that *European* authors have ever spoken of them in the extremes of applause or of censure: by some they have been extolled as the oldest and the wisest, as the most learned and most ingenious, of nations; whilst others have derided their pretensions to antiquity, condemned their government as abominable, and arraigned their manners as inhuman, without allowing them an element of science, or a single art, for which they have not been indebted to some more ancient and more civilized race of men. The truth perhaps lies, where we usually find it,
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between the extremes ; but it is not my design to accuse or to defend the *Chinese*, to depress or to aggrandize them : I shall confine myself to the discussion of a question connected with my former Discourses, and far less easy to be solved than any hitherto started : “ Whence came
“ the singular people, who long had governed
“ *China*, before they were conquered by the
“ *Tartars* ? ” On this problem, the solution of which has no concern, indeed, with our political or commercial interests, but a very material connection, if I mistake not, with interests of a higher nature, four opinions have been advanced, and all rather peremptorily asserted, than supported by argument and evidence. By a few writers it has been urged, that the *Chinese* are an original race, who have dwelled for ages, if not from eternity, in the land which they now possess : by others, and chiefly by the missionaries, it is asserted, that they sprang from the same stock with the *Hebrews* and *Arabs* : a third assertion is, that of the *Arabs* themselves, and of M. PAUW, who hold it indubitable that they were originally *Tartars* descending in wild clans from the steeps of *Imaus* : and a fourth, at least as dogmatically pronounced as any of the preceding, is that of the *Bráhmans*, who decide, without allowing any appeal from their decision, that the *Chinas*
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(for so they are named in *Sanscrit*) were *Hindus* of the *Cshatriya*, or military, class, who, abandoning the privileges of their tribe, rambled in different bodies to the north-east of *Bengal*; and forgetting by degrees the rites and religion of their ancestors, established separate principalities, which were afterwards united in the plains and valleys which are now possessed by them. If any one of the three last opinions be just, the first of them must necessarily be relinquished; but of those three, the first cannot possibly be sustained; because it rests on no firmer support than a foolish remark, whether true or false, that *Sem*, in *Chinese*, means *life* and *procreation*; and because a tea-plant is not more different from a palm, than a *Chinese* from an *Arab*: they are men, indeed, as the tea and the palm are vegetables; but human sagacity could not, I believe, discover any other trace of resemblance between them. One of the *Arabs*, indeed, an account of whose voyage to *India* and *China* has been translated by RENAUDOT, thought the *Chinese* not only handsomer (according to his ideas of beauty) than the *Hindus*, but even more like his own countrymen in features, habiliments, carriages, manners and ceremonies; and this may be true, without proving an actual resemblance between the *Chinese* and *Arabs*, ex-

cept in dress and complexion. The next opinion is more connected with that of the *Bráhmans* than M. PAUW, probably, imagined; for though he tells us expressly, that by *Scythians* he meant the *Turks* or *Tartars*, yet the dragon on the standard, and some other peculiarities, from which he would infer a clear affinity between the old *Tartars* and the *Chinese*, belonged indubitably to those *Scythians* who are known to have been *Goths*; and the *Goths* had manifestly a common lineage with the *Hindus*, if his own argument, in the Preface to his Researches, on the similarity of language be, as all men agree it is, irrefragable. That the *Chinese* were anciently of a *Tartarian* stock, is a proposition, which I cannot otherwise disprove for the present, than by insisting on the total dissimilarity of the two races in manners and arts, particularly in the fine arts of imagination, which the *Tartars*, by their own account, never cultivated: but if we shew strong grounds for believing that the first *Chinese* were actually of an *Indian* race, it will follow, that M. PAUW and the *Arabs* are mistaken: it is to the discussion of this new, and, in my opinion, very interesting point, that I shall confine the remainder of my Discourse.

IN the *Sanscrit* Institutes of Civil and Religious Duties, revealed, as the *Hindus* believe,
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by MENU, the son of BRAHMA', we find the following curious passage : " Many families of
 " the military class, having gradually aban-
 " doned the ordinances of the *Véda*, and
 " the company of *Bráhmans*, lived in a state
 " of degradation ; as the people of *Pundraca*
 " and *Odra*, those of *Dravira* and *Cam-*
 " *bója*, the *Yavanas* and *Sacas*, the *Páradas*
 " and *Pablavas*, the *Ch'inas* and some other
 " nations." A full comment on this text
 would here be superfluous ; but since the tes-
 timony of the *Indian* author, who, though
 certainly not a divine personage, was as cer-
 tainly a very ancient lawyer, moralist, and his-
 torian, is direct and positive, disinterested and
 unsuspected, it would, I think, decide the
 question before us, if we could be sure that
 the word *Ch'ina* signified a *Chinese*, as all the
Pandits, whom I have separately consulted,
 assert with one voice : they assure me, that
 the *Ch'inas* of MENU settled in a fine country
 to the north-east of *Gaur*, and to the east of
Cámarup and *Népál* ; that they have long been,
 and still are, famed as ingenious artificers ; and
 that they had themselves seen old *Chinese* idols,
 which bore a manifest relation to the primitive
 religion of *India*, before BUDDHA's appear-
 ance in it. A well-informed *Pandit* shewed
 me a *Sanscrit* book in *Cashmirian* letters, which,

he said, was revealed by SIVA himself, and entitled *Saṅgama*: he read to me a whole chapter of it on the heterodox opinions of the *Chinas*, who were divided, says the author, into near two hundred clans. I then laid before him a map of *Asia*; and when I pointed to *Cashmir*, his own country, he instantly placed his finger on the north-western provinces of *China*, where the *Chinas*, he said, first established themselves; but he added, that *Mabachina*, which was also mentioned in his book, extended to the eastern and southern oceans. I believe, nevertheless, that the *Chinese* Empire, as we now call it, was not formed when the laws of MENU were collected; and for this belief, so repugnant to the general opinion, I am bound to offer my best reasons. If the outline of history and chronology for the last two thousand years be correctly traced, (and we must be hardy scepticks to doubt it) the poems of CA'LI'DA's were composed before the beginning of our era: now it is clear from internal and external evidence, that the *Rāmāyan* and *Mahābhārat* were considerably older than the productions of that poet; and it appears from the style and metre of the *Dharma Śāstra*, revealed by MENU, that it was reduced to writing long before the age of VA'LMIC or VYA'SA, the second of whom names it with applause:

applause: we shall not, therefore, be thought extravagant, if we place the compiler of those laws between a thousand and fifteen hundred years before CHRIST; especially as BUDDHA, whose age is pretty well ascertained, is not mentioned in them; but in the twelfth century before our era, the *Chinese* Empire was at least in its cradle. This fact it is necessary to prove; and my first witness is CONFUCIUS himself. I know to what keen satire I shall expose myself by citing that philosopher, after the bitter sarcasms of M. PAUW against him and against the translators of his mutilated, but valuable, works; yet I quote, without scruple, the book entitled LU'N YU', of which I possess the original with a verbal translation, and which I know to be sufficiently authentick for my present purpose: in the second part of it CON-FU-TSU declares, that “although he, “like other men, could relate, as mere lessons “of morality, the histories of the first and “second imperial houses, yet, *for want of evi-* “*dence*, he could give no certain account of “them.” Now, if the *Chinese* themselves do not even pretend, that any historical monument existed, in the age of CONFUCIUS, preceding the rise of their third dynasty about eleven hundred years before the *Christian* epoch, we may justly conclude, that the reign of VU'VAM was in the infancy of their Empire, which

which hardly grew to maturity till some ages after that prince ; and it has been asserted by very learned *Europeans*, that even of the third dynasty, which he has the fame of having raised, no unsuspected memorial can now be produced.

It was not till the eighth century before the birth of Our Saviour, that a small kingdom was erected in the province of *Shen-si*, the capital of which stood nearly in the *thirty-fifth* degree of northern latitude, and about *five* degrees to the west of *Si-gan* : both the country and its metropolis were called *Ch'in*, and the dominion of its princes was gradually extended to the east and west. A king of *Ch'in*, who makes a figure in the *Sháhnáma* among the allies of *AFRA'SIYA'B*, was, I presume, a sovereign of the country just mentioned ; and the river of *Ch'in*, which the poet frequently names as the limit of his eastern geography, seems to have been the *Yellow River*, which the *Chinese* introduce at the beginning of their fabulous annals. I should be tempted to expatiate on so curious a subject ; but the present occasion allows nothing superfluous, and permits me only to add, that *MAN-GUKHA'N* died in the middle of the thirteenth century, before the city of *Ch'in*, which was afterwards taken by *KUBLAI* ; and that the poets of *Iran* perpetually allude to the districts around it which they celebrate, with *Chegil* and *Kho-*
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ten, for a number of musk-animals roving on their hills. The territory of *Chin*, so called by the old *Hindus*, by the *Persians*, and by the *Chinese* (while the *Greeks* and *Arabs* were obliged, by their defective articulation, to mis-call it *Sin*), gave its name to a race of Emperors, whose tyranny made their memory so unpopular, that the modern inhabitants of *China* hold the word in abhorrence, and speak of themselves as the people of a milder and more virtuous dynasty ; but it is highly probable that the whole nation descended from the *Chinas* of MENU, and mixing with the *Tartars*, by whom the plains of *Honan* and the more southern provinces were thinly inhabited, formed by degrees the race of men whom we now see in possession of the noblest empire in *Asia*.

IN support of an opinion, which I offer as the result of long and anxious inquiries, I should regularly proceed to examine the language and letters, religion and philosophy, of the present *Chinese*, and subjoin some remarks on their ancient monuments, on their science, and on their arts, both liberal and mechanical : but their spoken *language*, not having been preserved by the usual symbols of articulate sounds, must have been for many ages in a continual flux ; their *letters*, if we may so call them, are merely the symbols of ideas ; their popular
religion

religion was imported from *India* in an age comparatively modern ; and their *philosophy* seems yet in so rude a state, as hardly to deserve the appellation : they have no *ancient monuments*, from which their origin can be traced even by plausible conjecture ; their *sciences* are wholly *exotick*, and their *mechanical arts* have nothing in them characteristic of a particular family ; nothing which any set of men, in a country so highly favoured by nature, might not have discovered and improved. They have, indeed, both national music and national poetry, and both of them beautifully pathetick ; but of painting, sculpture, or architecture, as arts of imagination, they seem (like other *Asiatics*) to have no idea. Instead, therefore, of enlarging separately on each of those heads, I shall briefly enquire, how far the literature and religious practices of *China* confirm or oppose the proposition which I have advanced,

THE declared and fixed opinion of M. DE GUIGNES, on the subject before us, is nearly connected with that of the *Bráhmans* : he maintains, that the *Chinese* were emigrants from *Egypt* ; and the *Egyptians*, or *Ethiopians* (for they were clearly the same people), had indubitably a common origin with the old natives of *India*, as the affinity of their languages, and of their instructions, both religious and political, fully evinces ; but that *China* was peopled a few centuries

centuries before our era by a colony from the banks of the *Nile*, though neither *Persians* nor *Arabs*, *Tartars* nor *Hindus*, ever heard of such an emigration, is a paradox, which the bare authority even of so learned a man cannot support ; and since reason grounded on facts can alone decide such a question, we have a right to demand clearer evidence and stronger arguments than any that he has adduced. The hieroglyphicks of *Egypt* bear, indeed, a strong resemblance to the mythological sculptures and paintings of *India*, but seem wholly dissimilar to the symbolical system of the *Chinese*, which might easily have been invented (as they assert) by an individual, and might very naturally have been contrived by the first *Chinas*, or out-cast *Hindus*, who either never knew, or had forgotten, the alphabetical characters of their wiser ancestors. As to the table and bust of *Isis*, they seem to be given up as modern forgeries ; but, if they were indisputably genuine, they would be nothing to the purpose ; for the letters on the bust appear to have been designed as alphabetical ; and the fabricator of them (if they really were fabricated in *Europe*) was uncommonly happy, since two or three of them are exactly the same with those on a metal pillar yet standing in the north of *India*. In *Egypt*, if we can rely on the testimony of the *Greeks*, who studied no language but their own,
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there were two sets of alphabetical characters ; the one *popular*, like the various letters used in our *Indian* provinces ; and the other *sacerdotal*, like the *Dévanâgarî*, especially that form of it which we see in the *Véda* : besides which, they had two sorts of *sacred sculpture* ; the one simple, like the figures of BUDDHA and the three RA'MAS ; and the other allegorical, like the images of GANE'SA, or *Divine Wisdom*, and ISA'NI', or *Nature*, with all their emblematical accompaniments : but the *real character* of the *Chinese* appears wholly distinct from any *Egyptian* writing, either mysterious or popular ; and as to the fancy of M. DE GUIGNES, that the complicated symbols of *China* were at first no more than *Phenician* monograms, let us hope, that he has abandoned so wild a conceit, which he started probably with no other view than to display his ingenuity and learning.

WE have ocular proof, that the few radical characters of the *Chinese* were originally (like our astronomical and chymical symbols) the pictures or out-lines of visible objects, or figurative signs for simple ideas, which they have multiplied by the most ingenious combinations and the liveliest metaphors ; but as the system is peculiar, I believe, to themselves and the *Japanese*, it would be idle and ostentatious to enlarge on it at present ; and, for the reasons already intimated, it neither corroborates nor weakens
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the opinion which I endeavour to support. The same may as truly be said of their *spoken* language ; for, independently of its constant fluctuation during a series of ages, it has the peculiarity of excluding four or five sounds which other nations articulate, and is clipped into monosyllables, even when the ideas expressed by them, and the written symbols for those ideas, are very complex. This has arisen, I suppose, from the singular habits of the people ; for though their common tongue be so *musically* accented as to form a kind of recitative, yet it wants those *grammatical* accents, without which all human tongues would appear monosyllabick : thus *Amita*, with an accent on the first syllable, means, in the *Sanscrit* language, immeasurable ; and the natives of *Bengal* pronounce it *Omito* ; but when the religion of BUDDHA, the son of *Máyá*, was carried hence into *China*, the people of that country, unable to pronounce the name of their new God, called him *Foe*, the son of *Moye*, and divided his epithet *Amita* into three syllables O-MI-TO, annexing to them certain ideas of their own, and expressing them in writing by three distinct symbols. We may judge from this instance, whether a comparison of their spoken tongue with the dialects of other nations can lead to any certain conclusion as to their origin ; yet the instance which I have
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given supplies me with an argument from analogy, which I produce as conjectural only, but which appears more plausible the oftener I consider it. The BUDDHA of the *Hindus* is unquestionably the FOE of *China*; but the great progenitor of the *Chinese* is also named by them FO-HI, where the second monosyllable signifies, it seems, a *Victim*: now the ancestor of that military tribe whom the *Hindus* call the *Chandravanfa*, or children of the MOON, was, according to their *Puranas* or legends, BUDDHA, or the genius of the planet *Mercury*, from whom, in the *fifth* degree, descended a prince named DRUHYA; whom his father YAYA'TI sent in exile to the east of *Hindustán*, with this imprecation, "May thy progeny be ignorant of the *Veda*!" The name of the banished prince could not be pronounced by the modern *Chinese*; and though I dare not conjecture, that the last syllable of it has been changed into YAO, I may nevertheless observe, that YAO was the *fifth* in descent from FO-HI, or at least the fifth mortal in the first imperial dynasty; that all *Chinese* history before him is considered, by the *Chinese* themselves, as poetical or fabulous; that his father TI-co, like the *Indian* king YAYA'TI, was the first prince who married several women; and that FO-HI, the head of their race, appeared, say the *Chinese*, in a province of the west, and held his court in the territory

ritory of *Chin*, where the rovers mentioned by the *India* legislator are supposed to have settled. Another circumstance in the parallel is very remarkable : according to Father DE PREMARE, in his Tract on *Chinese* Mythology, the mother of FO-HI was the *daughter of Heaven*, surnamed *Flower-loving* ; and as the nymph was walking alone on the bank of a *river* with a similar name, she found herself on a sudden encircled by a *rainbow* ; soon after which she became pregnant, and at the end of twelve years was delivered of a son radiant as herself, who, among other titles, had that of SU'I, or *Star of the Year*. Now, in the mythological system of the *Hindus*, the nymph RO'HINI', who presides over the fourth lunar mansion, was the favourite mistress of SO'MA, or the *Moon*, among whose numerous epithets, we find *Cumudanáyaca*, or *delighting in a species of water-flower*, that blossoms at night ; and their offspring was BUDHA, regent of a planet, and called also, from the names of his parents, RAUHINE'YA or SAUMYA. It is true, that the learned Missionary explains the word SU'I by JUPITER ; but an exact resemblance between two such fables could not have been expected ; and it is sufficient for my purpose that they seem to have a family likeness. The God BUDHA, say the *Indians*, married ILA',

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whose father was preserved in a miraculous ark from an universal deluge: now, although I cannot insist with confidence, that the *rain-bow* in the *Chinese* fable alludes to the *Mosaick* narrative of the Flood, nor build any solid argument on the divine personage NIU-VA, of whose character, and even of whose sex, the historians of *China* speak very doubtfully; I may, nevertheless, assure you, after full enquiry and consideration, that the *Chinese*, like the *Hindus*, believe this earth to have been wholly covered with water, which, in works of undisputed authenticity, they describe as *flowing abundantly, then subsiding, and separating the higher from the lower age of mankind*; that the *division of time*, from which their poetical history begins, just preceded the appearance of FO-HI on the mountains of *Chin*, but that the great *inundation*, in the reign of YAO, was either confined to the low-lands of his kingdom, if the whole account of it be not a fable, or if it contain any allusion to the Flood of NOAH, has been ignorantly misplaced by the *Chinese* Annalists.

THE importation of a new religion into *China*, in the first century of our Era, must lead us to suppose, that the former system, whatever it was, had been found inadequate to the purpose of restraining the great body of the people from those offences against conscience
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and virtue which the civil power could not reach ; and it is hardly possible that, without such restrictions, any government could long have subsisted with felicity ; for no government can long subsist without equal justice, and justice cannot be administered without the sanctions of religion. Of the religious opinions entertained by CONFUCIUS and his followers we may glean a general notion from the fragments of their works translated by COUPLET : they professed a firm belief in the Supreme God, and gave a demonstration of his Being, and of his Providence, from the exquisite beauty and perfection of the celestial bodies, and the wonderful order of nature in the whole fabrick of the visible world. From this belief they deduced a system of Ethicks, which the philosopher sums up in a few words at the close of the *Lúnyù* : “ He,” says CONFUCIUS, “ who
“ shall be fully persuaded, that the Lord of
“ Heaven governs the Universe, who shall in
“ all things chuse moderation, who shall perfectly know his own species, and so act
“ among them, that his life and manners may
“ conform to his knowledge of God and Man,
“ may be truly said to discharge all the duties of
“ a sage, and to be far exalted above the common herd of the human race.” But such a religion and such morality could never have
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been general; and we find, that the people of *China* had an ancient system of ceremonies and superstitions, which the government and the philosophers appear to have encouraged, and which has an apparent affinity with some parts of the oldest *Indian* worship: they believe in the agency of genii, or tutelary spirits, presiding over the stars and the clouds, over lakes and rivers, mountains, valleys, and woods, over certain regions and towns, over all the elements (of which, like the *Hindus*, they reckon *five*), and particularly over *fire*, the most brilliant of them: to those deities they offered victims on high places; and the following passage from the *Sbi-cin*, or *Book of Odes*, is very much in the style of the *Bráhmans*: “ Even they who
 “ perform a sacrifice with due reverence can-
 “ not perfectly assure themselves, that the di-
 “ vine spirits accept their oblations; and far
 “ less can they who adore the Gods with lan-
 “ guor and oscitancy clearly perceive their
 “ sacred illapses.”

THESE are imperfect traces indeed, but they are traces of an affinity between the religion of MENU and that of the *Chinás*, whom he names among the apostates from it. M. LE GENTIL, observed, he says, a strong resemblance between the funeral rites of the *Chinese* and the *Sráddha* of the *Hindus*; and M. BAILLY, after a learned investigation, concludes

concludes, that “ even the puerile and absurd
“ stories of the *Chinese* fabulists contain a rem-
“ nant of ancient *Indian* history, with a faint
“ sketch of the first *Hindu* ages.”

As the *Bauddhas*, indeed, were *Hindus*, it may naturally be imagined, that they carried into *China* many ceremonies practised in their own country; but the *Bauddhas* positively forbade the immolation of cattle; yet we know, that various animals, even bulls and men, were anciently sacrificed by the *Chinese*; besides which we discover many singular marks of relation between them and the old *Hindus*: as in the remarkable period of *four hundred and thirty-two thousand*, and the cycle of *sixty*, years; in the predilection for the mystical number *nine*; in many similar fasts and great festivals, especially at the solstices and equinoxes; in the just mentioned obsequies, consisting of rice and fruits, offered to the manes of their ancestors; in the dread of dying childless, lest such offering should be intermitted; and, perhaps, in their common abhorrence of *red* objects, which the *Indians* carried so far, that MENU himself, where he allows a *Bráhma* to trade, if he cannot otherwise support life, absolutely forbids “ his trafficking in any
“ sort of *red* cloths, whether linen or woollen,
“ or made of woven bark.”

ALL the circumstances which have been mentioned under the two heads of *literature* and *religion* seem collectively to prove (as far as such a question admits proof) that the *Chinese* and *Hindus* were originally the same people ; but having been separated near four thousand years, have retained few strong features of their ancient consanguinity, especially as the *Hindus* have preserved their old language and ritual, while the *Chinese* very soon lost both ; and the *Hindus* have constantly intermarried among themselves, while the *Chinese*, by a mixture of *Tartarian* blood from the time of their first establishment, have at length formed a race distinct in appearance both from *Indians* and *Tartars*.

A SIMILAR diversity has arisen, I believe, from similar causes, between the people of *China* and *Japan* ; in the second of which nations we have now, or soon shall have, as correct and as ample instruction as can possibly be obtained without a perfect acquaintance with the *Chinese* characters.

KEMPFER has taken from M. TITSINGH the honour of being the first, and he from KEMPFER that of being the only *European*, who, by a long residence in *Japan*, and a familiar intercourse with the principal natives of it, has been able to collect authentic materials for the
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natural and civil history of a country *secluded*, as the *Romans* used to say of our own Island, from *the rest of the World*. The works of those illustrious travellers will confirm and embellish each other; and when M. TITSINGH shall have acquired a knowledge of *Chinese*, to which a part of his leisure in *Java* will be devoted, his precious collection of books in that language, on the laws and revolutions, the natural productions, the arts, manufactures, and sciences, of *Japan*, will be in his hands an inexhaustible mine of new and important information. Both he and his predecessor assert with confidence, and I doubt not with truth, that the *Japanese* would resent, as an insult on their dignity, the bare suggestion of their descent from the *Chinese*, whom they surpass in several of the mechanical arts, and, what is of greater consequence, in military spirit; but they do not, I understand, mean to deny, that they are a branch of the same ancient stem with the people of *China*; and, were that fact ever so warmly contested by them, it might be proved by an invincible argument, if the preceding part of this Discourse, on the origin of the *Chinese*, be thought to contain just reasoning.

IN the first place, it seems inconceivable, that the *Japanese*, who never appear to have been conquerors or conquered, should have

adopted the whole system of *Chinese* literature with all its inconveniences and intricacies, if an immemorial connexion had not subsisted between the two nations; or, in other words, if the bold and ingenious race who peopled *Japan* in the middle of the thirteenth century before CHRIST, and about six hundred years afterwards established their monarchy, had not carried with them the letters and learning which they and the *Chinese* had possessed in common; but my principal argument is, that the *Hindu* or *Egyptian* idolatry has prevailed in *Japan* from the earliest ages; and among the idols worshipped, according to KEMPFER, in that country before the innovations of SA'CYA or BUDDHA, whom the *Japanese* also call AMIDA, we find many of those which we see every day in the temples of *Bengal*; particularly the *Goddeſs with many arms*, representing the powers of nature, in *Egypt* named ISIS, and here ISA'NI' or ISI', whose image, as it is exhibited by the *German* traveller, all the *Bráhmans* to whom I shewed it immediately recognized with a mixture of pleasure and enthusiasm. It is very true, that the *Chinese* differ widely from the natives of *Japan* in their vernacular dialects, in external manners, and perhaps in the strength of their mental faculties; but as wide a difference is observable among all the nations
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of the *Gothic* family ; and we might account even for a greater dissimilarity, by considering the number of ages during which the several swarms have been separated from the great *Indian* hive, to which they primarily belonged.

THE modern *Japanese* gave KEMPFER the idea of polished *Tartars* ; and it is reasonable to believe, that the people of *Japan*, who were originally *Hindus* of the martial class, and advanced farther eastward than the *Chinas*, have, like them, insensibly changed their features and characters by intermarriages with various *Tartarian* tribes, whom they found loosely scattered over their isles, or who afterwards fixed their abode in them.

HAVING now shewn, in five Discourses, that the *Arabs* and *Tartars* were originally distinct races, while the *Hindus*, *Chinese* and *Japanese*, proceeded from another ancient stem, and that all the three stems may be traced to *Iran*, as to a common centre, from which it is highly probable, that they diverged in various directions about four thousand years ago, I may seem to have accomplished my design of investigating the origin of the *Asiatick* nations ; but the questions which I undertook to discuss are not yet ripe for a strict analytical argument ; and it will first be necessary to examine with scrupulous attention all the detached or insulated races
of

of men, who either inhabit the borders of *India, Arabia, Tartary, Persia, and China*, or are interspersed in the mountainous and uncultivated parts of those extensive regions.

To this examination I shall, at our next Annual Meeting, allot an entire Discourse; and if, after all our inquiries, no more than *three* primitive races can be found, it will be a subsequent consideration, whether those three stocks had one common root, and, if they had, by what means that root was preserved amid the violent shocks which our whole globe appears evidently to have sustained,

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DISSERTATION VIII,

REMARKS.

ON THE

ISLAND

OF

HINZUAN OR JOHANNA,

HINZU'AN (a name which has been gradually corrupted into *Anzuame*, *Anjuan*, *Juanny*, and *Johanna*) has been governed about two centuries by a colony of *Arabs*, and exhibits a curious instance of the slow approaches towards civilization which are made by a small community, with many natural advantages, but with few means of improving them. An account of this *African* island, in which we hear the language and see the manners of *Arabia*, may neither be uninteresting in itself, nor foreign to the objects of enquiry proposed at the institution of our Society.

ON

ON Monday the 28th of July 1783, after a voyage in the *Crocodile* of ten weeks and two days from the rugged islands of *Cape Verd*, our eyes were delighted with a prospect so beautiful, that neither a painter nor a poet could perfectly represent it, and so cheering to us, that it can justly be conceived by such only as have been in our preceding situation. It was the sun rising in full splendour on the isle of *Mayata* (as the seamen called it), which we had joyfully distinguished the preceding afternoon by the height of its peak, and which now appeared at no great distance from the windows of our cabin; while *Hinzuan*, for which we had so long panted, was plainly discernible a-head, where its high lands presented themselves with remarkable boldness. The weather was fair; the water smooth; and a gentle breeze drove us easily before dinner-time round a rock, on which the *Brilliant* struck just a year before, into a commodious road *, where we dropped our anchor early in the evening: we had seen *Mobila*, another sister island, in the course of the day.

THE frigate was presently surrounded with canoes, and the deck soon crowded with natives of all ranks, from the high-born chief, who washed linen, to the half-naked slave,

* Lat. 12°. 10'. 47". S. Long. 44°. 25' 5". E. by the Master.

who

who only paddled. Most of them had letters of recommendation from *Englishmen*, which none of them were able to read, though they spoke *English* intelligibly; and some appeared vain of titles which our countrymen had given them in play, according to their supposed stations; we had lords, dukes, and princes on board, soliciting our custom, and importuning us for presents. In fact, they were too sensible to be proud of empty sounds, but justly imagined, that those ridiculous titles would serve as marks of distinction, and, by attracting notice, procure for them something substantial. The only men of real consequence in the island, whom we saw before we landed, were the Governor ABDULLAH, second cousin to the King, and his brother ALWI', with their several sons; all of whom will again be particularly mentioned: they understood *Arabick*, seemed zealots in the *Mohammedan* faith, and admired my copies of the *Alkoran*; some verses of which they read, whilst ALWI' perused the opening of another *Arabian* manuscript, and explained it in *English* more accurately than could have been expected.

THE next morning shewed us the island in all its beauty; and the scene was so diversified, that a distinct view of it could hardly have been exhibited by the best pencil: you must, therefore, be satisfied with a mere description, written
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ten on the very spot, and compared attentively with the natural landscape. We were at anchor in a fine bay, and before us was a vast amphitheatre, of which you may form a general notion by picturing in your minds a multitude of hills infinitely varied in size and figure, and then supposing them to be thrown together, with a kind of artless symmetry, in all imaginable positions. The back ground was a series of mountains, one of which is pointed, near half a mile perpendicularly high from the level of the sea, and little more than three miles from the shore: all of them were richly clothed with wood, chiefly fruit-trees, of an exquisite verdure. I had seen many a mountain of a stupendous height in *Wales* and *Switzerland*, but never saw one before, round the bosom of which the clouds were almost continually rolling, while its green summit rose flourishing above them, and received from them an additional brightness. Next to this distant range of hills was another tier, part of which appeared charmingly verdant, and part rather barren; but the contrast of colours changed even this nakedness into a beauty: nearer still were innumerable mountains, or rather cliffs, which brought down their verdure and fertility quite to the beach; so that every shade of green, the sweetest of colours, was displayed at one view
by

by land and by water. But nothing conduced more to the variety of this enchanting prospect than the many rows of palm-trees, especially the tall and graceful Areca's, on the shores, in the valleys, and on the ridges of hills, where one might almost suppose them to have been planted regularly by design. A more beautiful appearance can scarce be conceived, than such a number of elegant palms in such a situation, with luxuriant tops, like verdant plumes, placed at just intervals, and shewing between them part of the remoter landscape, while they left the rest to be supplied by the beholder's imagination. The town of *Matsamúdo* lay on our left, remarkable at a distance for the tower of the principal Mosque, which was built by HALI'MAH, a Queen of the island, from whom the present King is descended : a little on our right was a small town, called *Bantáni*. Neither the territory of *Nice*, with its olives, date-trees, and cypresses, nor the isles of *Hires*, with their delightful orange-groves, appeared so charming to me as the view from the road of *Hinzuan* ; which, nevertheless, is far surpassed, as the Captain of the *Crocodile* assured us, by many of the islands in the southern ocean. If life were not too short for the complete discharge of all our respective duties, publick and private, and for the acquisition even of necessary know-
ledge

ledge in any degree of perfection, with how much pleasure and improvement might a great part of it be spent in admiring the beauties of this wonderful orb, and contemplating the nature of man in all its varieties !

WE hastened to tread on firm land, to which we had been so long disused, and went on shore, after breakfast, to see the town, and return the Governor's visit. As we walked, attended by a crowd of natives, I surprized them by reading aloud an *Arabick* inscription over the gate of a *Mosque*, and still more, when I entered it, by explaining four sentences, which were written very distinctly on the wall, signifying, “ that
“ the world was given us for our own edifica-
“ tion, not for the purpose of raising sumptuous buildings ; life, for the discharge of
“ moral and religious duties, not for pleasurable
“ indulgences ; wealth, to be liberally bestowed, not avariciously hoarded ; and learning to produce good actions, not empty disputes.” We could not but respect the temple even of a false prophet, in which we found such excellent morality : we saw nothing better among the *Romish* trumpery in the church at *Madera*.

WHEN we came to ABDULLAH's house, we were conducted through a small court-yard into an open room, on each side of which was
a large

a large and convenient sofa, and above it a high bed-place in a dark recess, over which a chintz counterpane hung down from the ceiling: this is the general form of the best rooms in the island; and most of the tolerable houses have a similar apartment on the opposite side of the court, that there may be at all hours a place in the shade for dinner or for repose. We were entertained with ripe dates from *Yemen*, and the milk of cocoa-nuts; but the heat of the room, which seemed accessible to all who chose to enter it, and the scent of musk or civet, with which it was perfumed, soon made us desirous of breathing a purer air; nor could I be detained long by the *Arabick* manuscripts which the Governor produced, but which appeared of little use, and consequently of no value, except to such as love mere curiosities: one of them, indeed, relating to the penal law of the *Mohammedans*, I would gladly have purchased at a just price; but he knew not what to ask, and I knew that better books on that subject might be procured in *Bengal*. He then offered me a black boy for one of my Alkorans, and pressed me to barter an *Indian* dress, which he had seen on board the ship, for a cow and calf; the golden slippers attracted him most, since his wife, he said, would like to wear them; and for that reason I made him a present of them;

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but had destined the book and the robe for his superior. No high opinion could be formed of SAYYAD ABDULLAH, who seemed very eager for gain, and very servile where he expected it.

OUR next visit was to SHAIKH SA'LIM, the King's eldest son; and if we had seen him first, the state of civilization in *Hinzûn* would have appeared at its lowest ebb; the worst *English* hackney in the worst stable is better lodged, and looks more princely than this heir apparent; but though his mien and apparel were extremely savage, yet allowance should have been made for his illness, which, as we afterwards learned, was an abscess in the spleen, a disorder not uncommon in that country, and frequently cured, agreeably to the *Arabian* practice, by the actual cautery. He was incessantly chewing pieces of the *Areca-nut* with shell-lime; a custom borrowed, I suppose, from the *Indians*, who greatly improve the composition with spices and betel-leaves, to which they formerly added camphor: all the natives of rank chewed it, but not, I think, to so great an excess. Prince SA'LIM from time to time gazed at himself with complacency in a piece of broken looking-glass, which was glued on a small board, a specimen of wretchedness which we observed in no other house; but many circumstances convinced us that the apparently
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low condition of his Royal Highness, who was not on bad terms with his father, and seemed not to want authority, proceeded wholly from his avarice. His brother HAMDULLAH, who generally resides in the town of *Domóni*, has a very different character, being esteemed a man of worth, good sense, and learning: he had come the day before to *Matfamúdo*, on hearing that an *English* frigate was in the road; and I having gone out for a few minutes to read an *Arabick* inscription, found him on my return devouring a manuscript, which I had left with some of the company. He is a *Kádî* or *Mohammedan* judge; and as he seemed to have more knowledge than his countrymen, I was extremely concerned that I had so little conversation with him. The King, SHAIKH AHMED, has a younger son, named ABDULLAH, whose usual residence is in the town of *Wání*, which he seldom leaves, as the state of his health is very infirm. Since the succession to the title and authority of Sultan is not unalterably fixed in one line, but requires confirmation by the Chiefs of the island, it is not improbable that they may hereafter be conferred on Prince HAMDULLAH.

A LITTLE beyond the hole in which SA'LIM received us, was his *Haram*, or the apartment of his women, which he permitted us all to see,

not through politeness to strangers, as we believed at first, but, as I learned afterwards from his own lips, in expectation of a present : we saw only two or three miserable creatures with their heads covered, while the favourite, as we supposed, stood behind a coarse curtain, and shewed her ankles under it loaded with silver rings ; which, if she was capable of reflection, she must have considered as glittering fetters rather than ornaments ; but a rational being would have preferred the condition of a wild beast, exposed to perils and hunger in a forest, to the splendid misery of being wife or mistress to SA'LIM.

BEFORE we returned, ALWI' was desirous of shewing me his books ; but the day was too far advanced, and I promised to visit him some other morning. The Governor, however, prevailed on us to see his place in the country, where he invited us to dine the next day : the walk was extremely pleasant from the town to the side of a rivulet, which formed in one part a small pool very convenient for bathing, and thence, through groves and alleys, to the foot of a hill ; but the dining-room was little better than an open barn, and was recommended only by the coolness of its shade. ABDULLAH would accompany us on our return to the ship, together with two *Mufti's*, who spoke *Arabick* indifferently,

differently, and seemed eager to see all my manuscripts; but they were very moderately learned, and gazed with stupid wonder on a fine copy of the *Hamásfab* and on other collections of ancient poetry.

EARLY the next morning a black messenger, with a tawney lad as his interpreter, came from Prince SA'LIM; who, having broken his perspective-glass, wished to procure another by purchase or barter: a polite answer was returned, and steps taken to gratify his wishes. As we on our part expressed a desire to visit the King at *Domóni*, the Prince's messenger told us, that his master would, no doubt, lend us palanquins (for there was not an horse in the island), and order a sufficient number of his vassals to carry us, whom we might pay for their trouble, as we thought just: we commissioned him, therefore, to ask that favour, and begged that all might be ready for our excursion before sun-rise, that we might escape the heat of the noon, which, though it was the middle of winter, we had found excessive. The boy, whose name was COMBO MADI' staid with us longer than his companion: there was something in his look so ingenuous, and in his broken *English* so simple, that we encouraged him to continue his innocent prattle. He wrote and read *Arabick* tolerably well, and

set down at my desire the names of several towns in the island, which, He first told me, was properly called *Hinxuàn*. The fault of begging for whatever he liked, he had in common with the Governor and other nobles ; but hardly in a greater degree : his first petition for some lavender-water was readily granted ; and a small bottle of it was so acceptable to him, that, if we had suffered him, he would have kissed our feet : but it was not for himself that he rejoiced so extravagantly ; he told us, with tears starting from his eyes, that his mother would be pleased with it, and the idea of her pleasure seemed to fill him with rapture : never did I see filial affection more warmly felt, or more tenderly and, in my opinion, unaffectedly expressed ; yet this boy was not a favourite of the officers, who thought him artful. His mother's name, he said, was FA'TIMA ; and he importuned us to visit her ; conceiving, I suppose, that all mankind must love and admire her : we promised to gratify him ; and, having made him several presents, permitted him to return. As he reminded me of ALADDIN in the *Arabian* tale, I designed to give him that name in a commendatory letter, which he pressed me to write, instead of ST. DOMINGO, as some *European* visitor had ridiculously called him ; but, since the allusion would not have been generally

nerally known, and since the title of *Alau'ldin*, or *Eminence in Faith*, might have offended his superiors, I thought it adviseable for him to keep his *African* name.

A VERY indifferent dinner was prepared for us at the house of the Governor, whom we did not see the whole day, as it was the beginning of *Ramadàn*, the *Mohammedan Lent*, and he was engaged in his devotions, or made them his excuse; but his eldest son sat by us, while we dined, together with MU'SA, who was employed, jointly with his brother HUSAIN, as purveyor to the Captain of the frigate.

HAVING observed a very elegant shrub, that grew about six feet high in the court-yard, but was not then in flower, I learned with pleasure, that it was *hinna*, of which I had read so much in *Arabian* poems, and which *European* botanists have ridiculously named *Larsonia*. MU'SA bruised some of the leaves, and, having moistened them with water, applied them to our nails, and the tips of our fingers, which in a short time became of a dark orange-scarlet. I had before conceived a different idea of this dye, and imagined, that it was used by the *Arabs* to imitate the natural redness of those parts in young and healthy persons, which in all countries must be considered as a beauty: perhaps a less quantity of *hinna*, or the same

differently prepared, might have produced that effect. The old men in *Arabia* used the famed ye to conceal their gray hair, while their daughters were dyeing their lips and gums black, to set off the whiteness of their teeth; so universal in all nations and ages are personal vanity, and a love of disguising truth; though in all cases, the farther our species recede from nature, the farther they depart from true beauty; and men at least should disdain to use artifice or deceit for any purpose or on any occasion: if the women of rank at *Paris*, or those in *London* who wish to imitate them, be inclined to call the *Arabs* barbarians, let them view their own head-dresses and cheeks in a glass, and, if they have left no room for blushes, be inwardly at least ashamed of their censure.

IN the afternoon I walked a long way up the mountains in a winding path amid plants and trees no less new than beautiful, and regretted exceedingly that very few of them were in blossom, as I should then have had leisure to examine them. Curiosity led me from hill to hill; and I came at last to the sources of a rivulet, which we had passed near the shore, and from which the ship was to be supplied with excellent water. I saw no birds on the mountains but Guinea-fowl, which might have been easily caught: no insects were troublesome to me but
ofquitos;

mosquitos ; and I had no fear of venomous reptiles, having been assured that the air was too pure for any to exist in it ; but I was often unwillingly the cause of fear to the gentle and harmless lizard, who ran among the shrubs. On my return I missed the path by which I had ascended ; but having met some blacks laden with yams and plantains, I was by them directed to another, which led me round, through a charming grove of cocoa-trees, to the Governor's country-seat, where our entertainment was closed by a fillabub, which the *English* had taught the *Muselmans* to make for them.

WE received no answer from SA'LIM ; nor, indeed, expected one, since we took for granted that he could not but approve our intention of visiting his father ; and we went on shore before sun-rise, in full expectation of a pleasant excursion to *Domóni*, but we were happily disappointed. The servants at the Prince's door told us coolly, that their master was indisposed, and, as they believed, asleep ; that he had given them no orders concerning his palanquins, and that they durst not disturb him. ALWI' soon came to pay us his compliments, and was followed by his eldest son AHMED, with whom we walked to the gardens of the two Princes SA'LIM and HAMDULLAH ; the situation was naturally good but wild and desolate ; and in SA'LIM's garden,

garden, which we entered through a miserable hovel, we saw a convenient bathing-place, well built with stone, but then in great disorder ; and a shed by way of summer-house, like that under which we dined at the Governor's, but smaller, and less neat. On the ground lay a kind of cradle, about six feet long, and little more than one foot in breadth, made of cords twisted in a sort of clumsy net-work, with a long thick bamboo fixed to each side of it : this we heard with surprize was a royal palanquin, and one of the vehicles in which we were to have been rocked on men's shoulders over the mountains. I had much conversation with AHMED, whom I found intelligent and communicative. He told me, that several of his countrymen composed songs and tunes ; that he was himself a passionate lover of poetry and music, and that if we would dine at his house he would play and sing to us. We declined his invitation to dinner, as we had made a conditional promise if ever we passed a day at *Matsumido* to at our curry with BA'NA' GIBU, an honest man, of whom we purchased eggs and vegetables, and to whom some *Englishmen* had given the title of Lord, which made him extremely vain ; we could therefore make SAYYAD AHMED only a morning visit. He sung a hymn or two in *Arabick*, and accompanied his drawling though pathetic psalmody with a kind of
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of mandoline, which he touched with an awkward quill : the instrument was very imperfect, but seemed to give him delight. The names of the strings were written on it in *Arabian* or *Indian* figures, simple and compounded ; but I could not think them worth copying. He gave Captain WILLIAMSON, who wished to present some literary curiosities to the library at *Dublin*, a small roll, containing a hymn in *Arabick* letters, but in the language of *Mombaza*, which was mixed with *Arabick* ; but it hardly deserved examination, since the study of languages has little intrinsic value, and is only useful as the instrument of real knowledge, which we can scarce expect from the poets of *Mozambique*. AHMED would, I believe, have heard our *European* airs (I always except French melody) with rapture ; for his favourite tune was a common *Irish* jig, with which he seemed wonderfully affected.

ON our return to the beach I thought of visiting old ALWI', according to my promise, and Prince SA'LIM, whose character I had not then discovered. I resolved for that purpose to stay on shore alone, our dinner with GIBU having been fixed at an early hour. ALWI' shewed me his manuscripts, which chiefly related to the ceremonies and ordinances of his own religion ; and one of them, which I had formerly seen in
Europe,

Europe, was a collection of sublime and elegant hymns in praise of MOHAMMED, with explanatory notes in the margin. I requested him to read one of them after the manner of the *Arabs*, and he chaunted it in a strain by no means unpleasing ; but I am persuaded that he understood it very imperfectly. The room, which was open to the street, was presently crowded with visitors, most of whom were *Mufti's*, or *expounders of the law* ; and ALWI', desirous, perhaps, to display his zeal before them at the expence of good-breeding, directed my attention to a passage in a Commentary on the KORA'N, which I found levelled at the *Christians*. The commentator, having related with some additions (but, on the whole, not inaccurately) the circumstances of the temptation, puts this speech into the mouth of the tempter : “ Though I am
“ unable to delude thee, yet I will mislead by thy
“ means more human creatures than thou wilt
“ set right.” “ Nor was this menace vain,” says the MOHAMMEDAN writer, “ for the inhabitants
“ of a region many thousand leagues in extent,
“ are still so deluded by the devil, that they im-
“ ously call I'sA the son of God. Heaven pre-
“ serve us,” he adds, “ from blaspheming Chri-
“ stians, as well as blaspheming Jews !” Altho' a religious dispute with those obstinate zealots would have been unseasonable and fruitless, yet they deserved, I thought, a slight reprehension, as the attack seemed to be concerted among
them.

them. “The commentator,” said I, “was
 “much to blame for passing so indiscriminate
 “and hasty a censure: the title which gave your
 “legislator, and gives you such offence, was of-
 “ten applied in *Judea*, by a bold figure, agree-
 “able to the *Hebrew idiom*, though unusual in
 “*Arabick*, to *angels*, to *holy men*, and even to *all*
 “*mankind*, who are commanded to call God
 “*their father*; and in this large sense the *Apostle*
 “to the *Romans* calls the elect the *children* of
 “God, and the MESSIAH the *first-born among*
 “*many brethren*; but the words *only-begotten*
 “are applied transcendentally and incomparably
 “to him alone *; and as for me, who believe
 “the scriptures, which you also profess to be-
 “lieve, though you assert without proof that
 “we have altered them, I cannot refuse him an
 “appellation, though far surpassing our reason,
 “by which he is distinguished in the Gospel;
 “and the believers in MUHAMMED, who ex-
 “pressly names him the MESSIAH, and pro-
 “nounces him to have been born of a virgin,
 “which alone might fully justify the phrase
 “condemned by this author, are themselves
 “condemnable for cavilling at words, when
 “they cannot object to the substance of our faith
 “consistently with their own.” The *Muselmans*
 had nothing to say in reply; and the
 conversation was changed.

* Rom. viii. 29. See 1. John, iii. 1. 2. Barrow, 231, 232, 251.

I WAS astonished at the questions which AL-
WI' put to me concerning the late peace and the
independence of *America* ; the several powers
and resources of *Britain* and *France*, *Spain* and
Holland ; the character and supposed views of
the EMPEROR ; the comparative strength of the
Russian, *Imperial*, and *Othman* armies, and their
respective modes of bringing their forces to ac-
tion. I answered him without reserve, except on
the state of our possessions in *India* ; nor were
my answers lost ; for I observed that all the com-
pany were variously affected by them, generally
with amazement, often with concern ; espe-
cially when I described to them the great force
and admirable discipline of the *Austrian* army,
and the stupid prejudices of the *Turks*, whom
nothing can induce to abandon their old *Tarta-
rian* habits, and exposed the weakness of their
empire in *Africa*, and even in the more distant
provinces of *Asia*. In return he gave me clear
but general information concerning the govern-
ment and commerce of his island : “ his coun-
“ try,” he said, “ was poor, and produced few ar-
“ ticles of trade ; but if they could get money,
“ *which they now preferred to play-things,*”
these were his words, “ they might easily,”
he added, “ procure foreign commodities, and
“ exchange them advantageously with their
“ neighbours in the islands and on the continent :
“ thus with a little money,” said he, “ we
“ purchase muskets, powder, balls, cutlasses,
“ knives,

“ knives, cloths, raw cotton, and other articles
“ brought from *Bombay*, and with those we
“ trade to *Madagascar* for the natural produce
“ of the country or for dollars, with which the
“ *French* buy cattle, honey, butter, and so forth;
“ in that island. With gold, which we receive
“ from your ships, we can procure elephants
“ teeth from the natives of *Mozambique*, who
“ barter them also for ammunition and bars of
“ iron ; and the *Portuguese* in that country give
“ us cloths of various kinds in exchange for our
“ commodities : those cloths we dispose of lu-
“ cratively in the three neighbouring islands ;
“ whence we bring rice, cattle, a kind of bread-
“ fruit which grows in *Comara*, and slaves,
“ which we buy also at other places to which
“ we trade ; and we carry on this traffic in our
“ own vessels.”

HERE I could not help expressing my abhor-
rence of their *Slave Trade*, and asked him by
what law they claimed a property in rational be-
ings, since our CREATOR had given our species
a dominion, to be moderately exercised, over
the beasts of the field and the fowls of the air,
but none *to man over man*. “ By no law, an-
swered he, “ unless necessity be a law.” There
“ are nations in *Madagascar* and in *Africa* who
“ know neither GOD nor his PROPHET, nor
“ MOSES, nor DAVID, nor the MESSIAH :
“ those nations are in perpetual war, and take
“ many

“ many captives, whom, if they could not sell,
“ they would certainly kill. Individuals among
“ them are in extreme poverty, and have num-
“ bers of children, who, if they cannot be dis-
“ posed of, must perish through hunger, toge-
“ ther with their miserable parents. By purchas-
“ ing these wretches we preserve their lives,
“ and, perhaps, those of many others, whom
“ our money relieves. The sum of the argu-
“ ment is this : If we buy them, they will live
“ —if they become valuable servants, they will
“ live comfortably ; but if they are not sold, they
“ must die miserably.” “ There may be,” said
I, “ such cases, but you fallaciously draw a ge-
“ neral conclusion from a few particular in-
“ stances ; and this is the very fallacy which,
“ on a thousand other occasions, deludes man-
“ kind. It is not to be doubted that a constant
“ and gainful traffic in human creatures foment
“ war, in which captives are always made, and
“ keeps up that perpetual enmity which you
“ pretend to be the *cause* of a practice in itself
“ reprehensible, while in truth it is its *effect*.
“ The same traffic encourages laziness in some
“ parents, who might in general support their
“ families by proper industry, and seduces
“ others to stifle their natural feelings. At most,
“ your redemption of those unhappy children
“ can amount only to a personal contract, im-
“ plied between you, for gratitude and reason-
“ able

“ able service on their part---for kindness and
 “ humanity on your’s ; but can you think your
 “ part performed by disposing of them against
 “ their wills, with as much indifference as if
 “ you were selling cattle ; especially as they
 “ might become readers of the KORA’N, and
 “ pillars of your Faith ?” “ The law,” said he,
 “ forbids our selling them, when they are be-
 “ lievers in the PROPHEt ; and little children
 “ only are sold, nor they often, or by all mas-
 “ ters.” “ You who believe in MUHAMMED,”
 said I, “ are bound by the spirit and letter of his
 “ laws to take pains that they also may believe
 “ in him ; and if you neglect so important a
 “ duty for sordid gain, I do not see how you
 “ can hope for prosperity in this world, or for
 “ happiness in the next.” My old friend and
 the MUFTI assented, and muttered a few
 prayers, but probably forgot my preaching be-
 fore many minutes had passed.

So much time had slipped away in this con-
 versation, that I could make but a short visit to
 Prince SA’LIM : my view in visiting him was to
 fix the time of our journey to *Domóni* as early as
 possible on the next morning. His appearance
 was more savage than ever, and I found him in
 a disposition to complain bitterly of the English.
 “ No acknowledgement,” he said, “ had been
 “ made for the kind attentions of himself and
 “ the chief men in his country to the officers
 “ and people of the *Brilliant*, though a whole
 S “ year

“ year had elapsed since the wreck.” I really wondered at the forgetfulness to which alone such a neglect could be imputed ; and assured him, that I would express my opinion both in *Bengal* and in letters to *England*. “ We have little,” said he, “ to hope from letters, for when we have been paid with them instead of money, and have shewn them on board your ships, we have commonly been treated with disdain, and often with imprecations.” I assured him, that either those letters must have been written coldly and by very obscure persons, or shewn to very ill-bred men, of whom there were too many in all nations, but that a few instances of rudeness ought not to give him a general prejudice against our national character. “ But you,” said he, “ are a wealthy nation, and we are indigent ; yet though all our groves of cocoa-trees, our fruits, and our cattle are ever at your service, you always try to make hard bargains with us for what you chuse to dispose of, and frequently will neither sell nor give those things which we principally want.” “ To form,” said I, “ a just opinion of *Englishmen*, you must visit us in our own island, or at least in *India* ; here we are strangers and travellers : many of us have no design to trade in any country, and none of us think of trading in *Hinzuàn*, where we stop only for refreshment. The clothes, arms, or instruments
“ which

“ which you may want are commonly
“ necessary or convenient to us ; but if SAY-
“ YAD ALWI’ or his sons were to be strangers
“ in our country, you should have no reason to
“ boast of superior hospitality.” He then shewed
me a second time a part of an old silk vest, with
the star of the Order of the Thistle, and begged
me to explain the motto ; expressing a wish that
the Order might be conferred on him by the
KING of ENGLAND in return for his good offices
to the *English*. I represented to him the im-
possibility of his being gratified, and took occa-
sion to say, that there was more true dignity in
their own native titles than in those of Prince,
Duke and Lord, which had been idly given
them, but had no conformity to their manners
or the constitution of their Government.

THIS conversation being agreeable to neither
of us, I changed it by desiring that the palan-
quins and bearers might be ready next morning
as early as possible : he answered, that his pa-
lanquins were at our service for nothing, but
that we must pay him ten dollars for each set of
bearers ; that it was the stated price, and that
Mr. HASTINGS had paid it when he went to
visit the King. This, as I learned afterwards,
was false ; but in all events I knew that he would
keep the dollars himself, and give nothing to the
bearers, who deserved them better, and whom

he would compel to leave their cottages and toil for his profit. “ Can you imagine, I replied, “ that we would employ four and twenty men “ to bear us so far on their shoulders without “ rewarding them amply ? But since they are “ free men (so he had assured me), and not “ your slaves, we will pay them in proportion “ to their diligence and good behaviour ; and “ it becomes neither your dignity nor ours to “ make a previous bargain.” I shewed him an elegant copy of the *Korán*, which I destined for his father, and described the rest of my present ; but he coldly asked, if that was all. Had he been King, a purse of dry dollars would have given him more pleasure than the finest or holiest manuscript. Finding him, in conversing on a variety of subjects, utterly void of intelligence or principle, I took my leave, and saw him no more, but promised to let him know for certain whether we should make our intended excursion.

WE dined in tolerable comfort, and had occasion, in the course of the day, to observe the manners of the natives in the middle rank, who are called BA'NAS, and all of whom have slaves constantly at work for them. We visited the mother of COMBOMA'DE, who seemed in a station but little raised above indigence ; and her husband, who was a mariner, bartered an *Arabick* Treatise on Astronomy and Navigation, which he had read, for a sea-compass, of which he well knew the use.

IN

IN the morning I had conversed with two very old *Arabs* of *Yemen*, who had brought some articles of trade to *Hinzuàn*; and in the afternoon I met another who had come from *Maskat* (where at that time there was a civil war) to purchase, if he could, an hundred stand of arms. I told them all, that I loved their nation, and they returned my compliments with great warmth, especially the two old men, who were near fourscore, and reminded me of *ZOHAIR* and *HA'RETH*.

So bad an account had been given me of the road over the mountains, that I dissuaded my companions from thinking of the journey, to which the Captain became rather disinclined; but as I wished to be fully acquainted with a country which I might never see again, I wrote the next day to *SA'LIM*, requesting him to lend me one palanquin, and to order a sufficient number of men; he sent me no written answer, which I ascribed rather to his incapacity than to rudeness: but the Governor, with *ALWI'* and two of his sons, came on board in the evening, and said, that they had seen my letters; that all should be ready; but that I could not pay less for the men than ten dollars. I said, I would pay more, but it should be to the men themselves, according to their behaviour. They returned somewhat dissatisfied, after I had played at chess with *ALWI'*s younger son,

son, in whose manner and address there was something remarkably pleasing.

BEFORE sun-rise, on the 2d of *August*, I went alone on shore, with a small basket of such provisions as I might want in the course of the day, and with some cushions to make the Prince's palanquin at least a tolerable vehicle; but the Prince was resolved to receive the dollars to which his men were entitled; and he knew that, as I was eager for the journey, he could prescribe his own terms. Old ALWI' met me on the beach, and brought excuses from SA'LIM, who, he said, was indisposed. He conducted me to his house; and seemed rather desirous of persuading me to abandon my design of visiting the King; but I assured him, that if the Prince would not supply me with proper attendants, I would walk to *Domoni* with my own servants and a guide.

“SHAikh SA'LIM,” he said, “was miserably avaritious; that he was ashamed of a kinsman with such a disposition; but that he was no less obstinate than covetous, and that without ten dollars paid in hand it would be impossible to procure bearers.” I then gave him three guineas, which he carried or pretended to carry to SA'LIM, but returned without the change, alledging that he had no silver, and promising to give me on my return the few dollars that remained. In about an hour the ridiculous vehicle was brought by
nine

nine sturdy blacks, who could not speak a word of *Arabick*; so that I expected no information concerning the country through which I was to travel; but ALWI' assisted me in a point of the utmost consequence. "You cannot go," said he, "without an interpreter; for the King speaks only the language of this island; but I have a servant whose name is TUMU'NI, a sensible and worthy man, who understands *English*, and is much esteemed by the King: he is known and valued all over *Hinzuàn*. This man shall attend you; and you will soon be sensible of his worth."

TUMU'NI desired to carry my basket, and we set out with a prospect of fine weather, but some hours later than I had intended. I walked by the gardens of the two Princes to the skirts of the town, and came to a little village consisting of several very neat huts made chiefly with the leaves of the cocoa-tree; but the road a little farther was so stony, that I sat in the palanquin, and was borne with perfect safety over some rocks. I then desired my guide to assure the men, that I would pay them liberally; but the poor peasants, who had been brought from their farms on the hills, were not perfectly acquainted with the use of money, and treated my promise with indifference.

ABOUT five miles from *Matfamúdo* lies the town of *Wànì*, where SHAIKH ABDULLAH, who has already been mentioned, usually resides. I

saw it at a distance, and it seemed to be agreeably situated. When I had passed the rocky part of the road I came to a stony beach, where the sea appeared to have lost some ground, since there was a fine sand to the left, and beyond it a beautiful bay, which resembled that of *Weymouth*, and seemed equally convenient for bathing; but it did not appear to me, that the stones over which I was carried had been recently covered with water. Here I saw the frigate, and taking leave of it for two days, turned from the coast into a fine country very neatly cultivated, and consisting partly of hillocks exquisitely green, partly of plains which were then in a gaudy dress of rich yellow blossoms: my guide informed me that they were plantations of a kind of vetch which was eaten by the natives. Cottages and farms were interspersed all over this gay champaign, and the whole scene was delightful; but it was soon changed for beauties of a different sort. We descended into a cool valley, through which ran a rivulet of perfectly clear water; and there finding my vehicle uneasy, though from the laughter and merriment of my bearers I concluded them to be quite at their ease, I bade them set me down, and walked before them all the rest of the way. Mountains clothed with fine trees and flowering shrubs presented themselves on our ascent from the vale, and we proceeded for half an hour through pleasant wood-walks, where I regretted

ted the impossibility of loitering a while to examine the variety of new blossoms, which succeeded one another at every step, and the virtues as well as names of which seemed familiar to TUMU'NI. At length we descended into a valley of greater extent than the former; a river or large wintry torrent ran through it, and fell down a steep declivity at the end of it, where it seemed to be lost among rocks. Cattle were grazing on the banks of the river, and the huts of the owners appeared on the hills: a more agreeable spot I had not before seen even in *Switzerland* or *Merionethshire*; but it was followed by an assemblage of natural beauties, which I hardly expected to find in a little island twelve degrees to the south of the Line. I was not sufficiently pleased with my solitary journey to discover charms which had not actual existence, and the first effect of the contrast between *St. Jago* and *Hinzuàn* had ceased. But, without any disposition to give the landscape a high colouring, I may truly say what I thought at the time, that the whole country which next presented itself as far surpassed *Ermenonville* or *Blenheim*, or any other imitations of nature which I had seen in *France* or *England*, as the finest bay surpasses an artificial piece of water.

Two very high mountains covered to the summit with the richest verdure, were at some distance on my right hand, and separated from me by meadows diversified with cottages and herds,

herds, or by vallies resounding with torrents and water-falls : on my left was the sea, to which there were beautiful openings from the hills and woods ; and the road was a smooth path, naturally winding through a forest of spicy shrubs, fruit-trees, and palms. Some high trees were spangled with white blossoms equal in fragrance to orange flowers : my guide called them *Monongo's*, but the day was declining so fast that it was impossible to examine them. The variety of fruits, flowers, and birds, of which I had a transient view in this magnificent garden, would have supplied a naturalist with amusement for a month ; but I saw no remarkable insect, and no reptile of any kind. The woodland was diversified by a few pleasant glades, and new prospects were continually opened ; at length a noble view of the sea burst upon me unexpectedly, and having passed a hill or two we came to the beach, beyond which were several hills and cottages. We turned from the shore, and on the next eminence I saw the town of *Domoni* at a little distance below us : I was met by a number of natives, a few of whom spoke *Arabick*, and thinking it a convenient place for repose, I sent my guide to apprize the King of my intended visit. He returned in half an hour with a polite message ; and I walked into the town, which seemed large and populous. A great crowd accompanied me, and I was conducted to a house built

on

on the same plan with the best houses at *Matsamido*. In the middle of the court yard stood a large *Monongo* tree, which perfumed the air: the apartment on the left was empty; and in that on the right sat the King on a sofa or bench covered with an ordinary carpet. He rose when I entered, and, grasping my hands, placed me near him on the right; but as he could speak only the language of *Hinzuàn*, I had recourse to my friend TUMU'NI, than whom a readier or more accurate interpreter could not have been found. I presented the King with a very handsome *Indian* dress of blue silk with golden flowers, which had been worn only at one masquerade, and with a beautiful copy of the KORA'N, from which I read a few verses to him: he took them with great complacency, and said, "he wished I had come by sea, that he might have loaded one of my boats with fruit and some of his finest cattle. He had seen me," he said, "on board the frigate, where he had been according to his custom in disguise, and had heard of me from his son SHAIK HAMDULLAH." I gave him an account of my journey, and extolled the beauties of his country: he put many questions concerning mine, and professed great regard for my nation. "But I hear," said he, "that you are a magistrate, and consequently profess peace; why are you armed with a broad-sword?" "I was a man," I said, "before I was a magistrate;

“ gistrate; and if it should ever happen that law
“ could not protect me, I must protect my-
“ self.” He seemed about sixty years old, had
a very cheerful countenance, and a great appear-
ance of goodnature mixed with a certain dig-
nity which distinguished him from the croud of
ministers and officers who attended him. Our
conversation was interrupted by notice, that it
was the time for evening prayer; and when he
arose he said, “ This house is yours, and I will
“ visit you in it after you have taken some re-
“ freshment.” Soon after his servants brought
a roast fowl, a rice pudding, and some other
dishes, with papayas and very good pomegra-
nates: my own basket supplied the rest of the
supper. The room was hung with old red
cloth, and decorated with pieces of porcelain
and festoons of English bottles: the lamps
were placed on the ground in large sea shells;
and the bed-place was a recess, concealed by a
chintz hanging, opposite to the sofa on which
he had been sitting. Though it was not a place
that invited repose, and the gnats were inex-
pressibly troublesome, yet the fatigues of the
day procured me a comfortable slumber. I was
waked by the return of the King and his train;
some of whom were *Arabs*, for I heard one
say, “ *Hurwa rākid*,” or, “ he is sleeping:” there
was an immediate silence, and I passed the night
with little disturbance except from the unwel-

come.

come songs of the musquitos. In the morning I was equally silent and solitary ; the house appeared to be deserted, and I began to wonder what was become of TUMU'NI : he came at length, with a concern on his countenance, and told me, that the bearers had run away in the night ; but that the King, who wished to see me in another of his houses, would supply me with bearers, if he could not prevail on me to stay till a boat could be sent for. I went immediately to the King, who I found sitting on a raised sofa in a large room, the walls of which were adorned with sentences from the KORA'N in very legible characters : about fifty of his subjects were seated on the ground in a semicircle before him, and my interpreter took his place in the midst of them. The good old King laughed heartily when he heard the adventure of the night, and said, “ You
“ will now be my guest for a week, I hope ;
“ but seriously, if you must return soon, I will
“ send into the country for some peasants to
“ carry you.” He then apologised for the behaviour of SHAIK SA'LIM, which he had heard from TUMU'NI, who told me afterwards he was much displeased with it, and would not fail to express his displeasure : he concluded with a long harangue on the advantages which the *English* might derive from sending a
ship

ship every year from *Bombay* to trade with his subjects, and on the wonderful cheapness of their commodities, especially of their cowries. Ridiculous as the idea may seem, it showed an enlargement of the mind, a desire to promote the interest of his people, and a sense of the benefits arising from trade, which could only have been expected from a petty *African* chief, and which if he had been sovereign of *Yemen* might have been expanded into rational projects, proportioned to the extent of his dominions. I answered, that I was imperfectly acquainted with the commerce of *India*; but that I would report the substance of his conversation, and would ever bear testimony of his noble zeal for the good of his country, and to the mildness with which he governed it. As I had no inclination to pass a second night in the island, I requested leave to return without waiting for bearers: he seemed very sincere in pressing me to lengthen my visit, but had too much *Arabian* politeness to be importunate. We therefore parted; and at the request of TUMU'NI, who assured me that little time would be lost in shewing attention to one of the worthiest men in *Hinsuàn*, I made a visit to the Governor of the town, whose name was MUTCKKA: his manners were very pleasing, and he shewed me some letters from the officers of the
Brilliant,

Brilliant, which appeared to flow warm from the heart, and contained the strongest eulogium of his courtesy and liberality. He insisted on filling my baskets with some of the finest pomegranates I had ever seen ; and I left the town impressed with a very favourable opinion of the King and his Governor. When I reascended the hill attended by many of the natives, one of them told me in *Arabick*, that I was going to receive the highest mark of distinction that it was in the King's power to shew me ; and he had scarce ended, when I heard the report of a single gun : SHAIKH AHMED had saluted me with the whole of his ordnance. I waved my hat, and said, "*Allah Acbar.*" The people shouted, and I continued my journey, not without fear of inconvenience from excessive heat and the fatigue of climbing the rocks. The walk, however, was not on the whole unpleasant. I sometimes rested in the valleys, and forded all the rivulets, which refreshed me with their coolness, and supplied me with exquisite water to mix with the juice of my pomegranates, and occasionally with brandy. We were overtaken by some peasants, who came from the hills by a nearer way, and brought the King's present of a cow with her calf, and a she-goat with two kids : they had apparently been selected for their beauty, and were brought safe to *Bengal*. The prospects which had so greatly delighted

lighted me the preceding day had not yet lost their charms, though they wanted the recommendation of novelty; but I must confess, that the most delightful object in that day's walk of near ten miles was the black frigate, which I discerned at sun-set from a rock near the Prince's gardens. Close to the town I was met by a native, who, perceiving me to be weary, opened a fine cocoa-nut, which afforded me a delicious draught: he informed me, that one of his countrymen had been punished that afternoon for a theft on board the *Crocodile*; and added, that in his opinion the punishment was no less just, than the offence was disgraceful to his country. The offender, as I afterwards learned, was a youth of a good family who had married a daughter of old ALWI'; but being left alone for a moment in the cabin, and seeing a pair of blue morocco slippers, could not resist the temptation, and concealed them so ill under his gown that he was detected with the mainer. This proves that no principle of honour is instilled by education into the gentry of this island: even ALWI', when he had observed, that "in the month of *Ramadan* it was not lawful to paint with *hinna* or to tell lies," and when I asked, whether both were lawful all the rest of the year, answered, that "lies were innocent, if no man was injured by them." TUMUNI took his leave, as well satisfied as myself with our excursion:

excursion : I told him before his master, that I transferred also to him the dollars which were due to me out of the three guineas ; and that if ever they should part, I should be very glad to receive him into my service in *India*.

MR. ROBERTS, the master of the ship, had passed the day with SAYYAD AHMED ; and had learned from him a few curious circumstances concerning the government of *Hinzuan*, which he found to be a monarchy limited by an aristocracy. The King, he was told, had no power of making war by his own authority ; but if the assembly of nobles, who were from time to time convened by him, resolved on a war with any of the neighbouring islands, they defrayed the charges of it by voluntary contributions, in return for which they claimed as their own, all the booty and captives that might be taken. The hope of gain or the want of slaves is usually the real motive for such enterprizes, and ostensible pretexts are easily found : at that very time, he understood, they meditated a war, because they wanted hands for the following harvest. Their fleet consisted of sixteen or seventeen small vessels, which they manned with about two thousand five hundred islanders, armed with muskets and cutlasses, or with bows and arrows. Near two years before they had possessed themselves of two towns in *Mayata*, which they still kept and garrisoned. The ordinary

dinary expences of the government were defrayed by a tax from two hundred villages ; but the three principal towns were exempt from all taxes, except that they paid annually to the chief MUFTI, a fortieth part of the value of all their moveable property, and from that payment neither the king nor the nobles claimed an exemption. The kingly authority, by the principles of their constitution, was considered as elective, though the line of succession had not in fact been altered since the first election of a SULTAN. He was informed, that a wandering *Arab*, who had settled in the island, had, by his intrepidity in several wars, acquired the rank of a chieftain, and afterwards of a king, with limited powers ; and that he was the *grandfather* of SHAIKH AHMED : I had been assured that queen HALI'MAH was his *grandmother* ; and that he was the *sixth* king ; but it must be remarked, that the words *jedd* and *jeddah* in *Arabick* are used for a male and female *ancestor* indefinitely ; and, without a correct pedigree of AHMED's family, which I expected to procure but was disappointed, it would scarce be possible to ascertain the time when his forefather obtained the highest rank in the government. In the year 1600, *Captain* JOHN DAVIS, who wrote an account of his voyage, found *Mayata* governed by a king, and *Ansuame*, or *Hinzuàn*, by a queen, who shewed him great
marks

marks of friendship : he anchored before the town of *Demos* (does he mean *Domóni*?) which was as large, he says, as *Plymouth* ; and he concludes from the ruins around it, that it had once been a place of strength and grandeur. I can only say, that I observed no such ruins. Fifteen years after, Captain PEYTON and Sir THOMAS ROE touched at the *Comara* islands ; and from their several accounts it appears, that an old Sultaneſs then reſided in *Hinzuàn*, but had a dominion paramount over all the iſles, three of her ſons governing *Mobila* in her name. If this be true, SOHAILI' and the ſucceſſors of HALI'MAH muſt have loſt their influence over the other iſlands ; and, by renewing their dormant claim as it ſuits their convenience, they may always be furniſhed with a pretence for hoſtilities. Five generations of eldeſt ſons would account for an hundred and ſeventy of the years which have elapſed ſince DAVIS and PEYTON found *Hinzuàn* ruled by a Sultaneſs ; and AHMED was of ſuch an age, that his reign may be reckoned equal to a generation : it is probable, on the whole, that HALI'MAH was the widow of the firſt *Arabian* king, and that her moſque has been continued in repair by his deſcendants ; ſo that we may reaſonably ſuppoſe two centuries to have paſſed, ſince a ſingle *Arab* had the courage and addreſs to eſtabliſh in that beautiful iſland a form of government, which, though bad enough

in itself, appears to have been administered with advantage to the original inhabitants. We have lately heard of civil commotions in *Hinzuàn*, which we may venture to pronounce, were not excited by any cruelty or violence of AHMED, but were probably occasioned by the insolence of an oligarchy naturally hostile to king and people. That the mountains in the *Comara* islands contain diamonds, and the precious metals, which are studiously concealed by the policy of the several governments, may be true, though I have no reason to believe it, and have only heard it asserted without evidence; but I hope that neither an expectation of such treasures, nor of any other advantage, will ever induce an *European* power to violate the first principles of justice, by assuming the sovereignty of *Hinzuàn*, which cannot answer a better purpose than that of supplying our fleets with seasonable refreshment; and although the natives have an interest in receiving us with apparent cordiality, yet, if we wish their attachment to be unfeigned and their dealings just, we must set them an example of strict honesty in the performance of our engagements. In truth, our nation is not cordially loved by the inhabitants of *Hinzuàn*, who, as it commonly happens, form a general opinion from a few instances of violence or breach of faith. Not many years ago an *European*,

pean,

pean, who had been hospitably received and liberally supported at *Matfamúdo*, behaved rudely to a young married woman, who, being of low degree, was walking veiled through a street in the evening: her husband ran to protect her, and resented the rudeness, probably with menaces, possibly with actual force; and the *European* is said to have given him a mortal wound with a knife or bayonet, which he brought, after the scuffle, from his lodging. This foul murder, which the law of nature would have justified the magistrate in punishing with death, was reported to the king, who told the Governor (I use the very words of ALWI') that "it would be wiser to hush it up." ALWI' mentioned a civil case of his own, which ought not to be concealed. When he was on the coast of *Africa* in the dominions of a very savage prince, a small *European* vessel was wrecked; and the prince not only seized all that could be saved from the wreck, but claimed the Captain and the crew as his slaves, and treated them with ferocious insolence. ALWI' assured me, that when he heard of the accident, he hastened to the prince, fell prostrate before him, and by tears and importunity prevailed on him to give the *Europeans* their liberty; that he supported them at his own expence, enabled them to build another vessel, in which they sailed to *Hinzuàn*, and departed thence for *Europe* or *India*: he

shewed me the Captain's promissory notes for fums which to an *African* trader must be a considerable object, but which were no price for liberty, safety, and perhaps life, which his good, though disinterested, offices had procured. I lamented, that, in my situation, it was wholly out of my power to assist ALWI in obtaining justice ; but he urged me to deliver an *Arabick* letter from him, inclosing the notes, to the Governor-General, who, as he said, knew him well ; and I complied with his request. Since it is possible that a substantial defence may be made by the person thus accused of injustice, I will not name either him or the vessel which he had commanded ; but if he be living, and if this paper should fall into his hands, he may be induced to reflect how highly it imports our national honour, that a people whom we call savage, but who administer to our convenience, may have no just cause to reproach us with a violation of our contracts.

DIS-

DISSERTATION IX.

ON THE

CHRONOLOGY

OF THE

H I N D U S.

WRITTEN IN JANUARY 1788.

THE great antiquity of the *Hindus* is believed so firmly by themselves, and has been the subject of so much conversation among *Europeans*, that a short view of their chronological system, which has not yet been exhibited from certain authorities, may be acceptable to those who seek truth without partiality to received opinions, and without regarding any consequences that may result from their inquiries: the consequences, indeed, of truth cannot but be desirable, and no reasonable man will apprehend any danger to society from a general diffusion of its light; but we must not suffer ourselves to be dazzled by a false glare,

glare, nor mistake enigmas and allegories for historical verity. Attached to no system, and as much disposed to reject the *Mosaick* history, if it be proved erroneous, as to believe it if it be confirmed by sound reasoning from indubitable evidence, I propose to lay before you a concise account of *Indian* chronology, extracted from *Sanscrit* books, or collected from conversations with *Pandits*, and to subjoin a few remarks on their system, without attempting to decide a question, which I shall venture to start, “ Whether it is not in fact the same
 “ with our own, but embellished and obscured
 “ by the fancy of their poets and the riddles
 “ of their astronomers ?”

ONE of the most curious books in *Sanscrit*, and one of the oldest after the *Vêda's*, is a tract *On Religious and Civil Duties*, taken, as it is believed, from the oral instructions of MENU, son of BRAHMA', to the first inhabitants of the earth. A well-collated copy of this interesting law tract is now before me; and I begin my dissertation with a few couplets from the first chapter of it: “ The sun causes the division
 “ of day and night, which are of two sorts,
 “ those of men and those of the Gods; the
 “ day for the labour of all creatures in their
 “ several employments; the night for their
 “ slumber. A month is a day and night of the
 “ *Patriarchs*, and it is divided into two parts;
 the

“ the bright half is *their* day for laborious ex-
 “ ertions, the dark half *their* night for sleep.
 “ A year is a day and night of the Gods, and
 “ that is also divided into two halves ; the day
 “ is when the sun moves toward the north,
 “ the night when it moves toward the south,
 “ Learn now the duration of a night and day
 “ of BRAHMA', with that of the ages respec-
 “ tively and in order. Four thousand years *of the*
 “ Gods they call the *Crita* (or *Satya*) age ; and
 “ its limits at the beginning and at the end *are*,
 “ in like manner, as many hundreds. In the
 “ three successive ages, together with their limits
 “ at the beginning and end of them, are thou-
 “ sands and hundreds diminished by one. This
 “ aggregate of four ages, amounting to twelve
 “ thousand divine years, is called an age of
 “ the Gods ; and a thousand such divine ages
 “ added together, must be considered as a day
 “ of BRAHMA' : his night has also the same
 “ duration. The before-mentioned age of the
 “ Gods, or twelve thousand of their years
 “ multiplied by seventy-one, form what is
 “ named here below a *Manwantara*. There
 “ are *alternate* creations and destructions of
 “ *worlds* through innumerable *Manwantaras* :
 “ the Being supremely desirable performs all
 “ this again and again.”

SUCH is the arrangement of infinite time,
 which the *Hindus* believe to have been revealed
 from

from Heaven, and which they generally understand in a literal sense: it seems to have intrinsic marks of being purely astronomical; but I will not appropriate the observations of others, nor anticipate those in particular which have been made by two or three of our Members, and which they will, I hope, communicate to the Society. A conjecture, however, of Mr. PATERSON has so much ingenuity in it, that I cannot forbear mentioning it here, especially as it seems to be confirmed by one of the couplets just cited: he supposes, that as a *month* of mortals is a day and night of the *Patriarchs* from the analogy of its bright and dark halves, so, by the same analogy, a day and night of mortals might have been considered by the ancient *Hindus* as a month of the lower world; and then a year of such months will consist only of twelve days and nights, and thirty such years will compose a lunar year of mortals; whence he surmises, that the *four million three hundred and twenty thousand* years, of which the four *Indian* ages are supposed to consist, mean only years of twelve days; and, in fact, that sum divided by *thirty*, is reduced to *an hundred and forty-four thousand*: now, a *thousand four hundred and forty* years are one *pada*, a period in the *Hindu* astronomy; and that sum multiplied by *eighteen*, amounts precisely to *twenty-five thousand nine hundred and twenty*,
the

the number of years in which the fixed stars appear to perform their long revolution eastward. The last-mentioned sum is the product also of *an hundred and forty-four*, which, according to M. BAILLY, was an old *Indian* cycle, into *an hundred and eighty*, or the *Tartarian* period, called *Van*, and of *two thousand eight hundred and eighty* into *nine*, which is not only one of the lunar cycles, but considered by the *Hindus* as a mysterious number and an emblem of Divinity; because, if it be multiplied by any other whole number, the sum of the figures in the different products remains always nine, as the Deity, who appears in many forms, continues one immutable essence. The important period of *twenty-five thousand nine hundred and twenty* years is well known to arise from the multiplication of *three hundred and sixty* into *seventy-two*, the number of years in which a fixed star seems to move through a degree of a great circle; and although M. LE GENTIL assures us, that the modern *Hindus* believe a complete revolution of the stars to be made in *twenty-four thousand* years, or *fifty-four* seconds of a degree to be passed in one year, yet we may have reason to think, that the old *Indian* astronomers had made a more accurate calculation, but concealed their knowledge from the people under the veil of *fourteen* MANWANTARAS, *seventy-one* divine ages, compound cycles,

cycles, and years of different sorts from those of BRAHMA' to those of *Pátála*, or the *infernal regions*. If we follow the analogy suggested by MENU, and suppose only a day and night to be called a *year*, we may divide the number of years in a divine age by *three hundred and sixty*, and the quotient will be *twelve thousand*, or the number of his *divine years* in one age: but, conjecture apart, we need only compare the two periods 4,320,000 and 25,920, and we shall find that, among their common divisors, are 6, 9, 12, &c. 18, 36, 72, 144, &c. which numbers, with their several multiples, especially in a decuple progression, constitute some of the most celebrated periods of the *Chaldeans*, *Greeks*, *Tartars*, and even of the *Indians*. We cannot fail to observe, that the number 432, which appears to be the basis of the *Indian* system, is a 60th part of 25,920, and, by continuing the comparison, we might probably solve the whole enigma. In the preface to a *Varánes* almanack, I find the following wild stanza: “ A *thousand* great ages are a
“ day of BRAHMA; a *thousand* such days are
“ an *Indian* hour of VISHNU; *six hundred thousand* such hours make a period of RUDRA;
“ and a million of *Rudra's* (or *two quadrillions*
“ *five hundred and ninety-two thousand trillions*
“ of *lunar years*) are but a *second* to the Su-
“ preme

“preme Being.” The *Hindu* theologians deny the conclusion of the stanza to be orthodox: *time*, they say, *exists not at all with God*; and they advise the astronomers to mind their own business without meddling with theology. The astronomical verse, however, will answer our present purpose; for it shews, in the first place, that cyphers are added at pleasure to swell the periods; and if we take ten cyphers from a *Rudra*, or divide by ten thousand millions, we shall have a period of 259,200,000 years; which, divided by 60 (the usual divisor of *time* among the *Hindus*), will give 4,320,000, or a great age, which we find subdivided in the proportion of 4, 3, 2, 1, from the notion of *virtue* decreasing arithmetically in the *golden, silver, copper, and earthen* ages. But should it be thought improbable that the *Indian* astronomers in very early times had made more accurate observations than those of *Alexandria, Bagdad, or Maraghab*, and still more improbable that they should have relapsed without apparent cause into error, we may suppose, that they formed their divine age by an arbitrary multiplication of 24,000 by 180, according to M. LE GENTIL, or of 21,600 by 200, according to the comment on the *Sûrya Siddhânta*. Now, as it is hardly possible that such coincidences should be accidental, we may hold it
nearly

nearly demonstrated; that the period of a *divine age* was at first merely astronomical, and may consequently reject it from our present enquiry into the historical or civil chronology of *India*. Let us however proceed to the avowed opinions of the *Hindus*, and see, when we have ascertained their system, whether we can reconcile it to the course of nature and the common sense of mankind.

THE aggregate of their four ages they call a *divine age*, and believe that in every thousand such ages, or in every *day* of BRAHMA', *fourteen* MENUS are successively invested by him with the sovereignty of the earth: each MENU, they suppose, transmits his empire to his sons and grandsons during a period of seventy-one *divine ages*; and such a period they name a *Manwantara*: but since *fourteen* multiplied by *seventy-one* are not quite a *thousand*, we must conclude, that *six divine ages* are allowed for intervals between the *Manwantaras*, or for the twilight of BRAHMA''s day. Thirty such days, or *Calpas*, constitute, in their opinion, a *month* of BRAHMA'; twelve such months one of his years; and an hundred such years his *age*; of which age they assert that fifty years have elapsed. We are now then, according to the *Hindus*, in the first day, or *Calpa*, of the first month of the fifty-first year of BRAHMA''s age, and in the twenty-eighth
divine

divine age of the seventh *Manwantara*; of which divine age the *three first* human ages have passed, and *four thousand eight hundred and eighty-eight* of the fourth.

IN the present day of BRAHMA' the first MENU was surnamed SWA'YAMBHUYA, or *Son of the Self-existent*; and it is He by whom the *Institutes of Religious and Civil Duties* are supposed to have been delivered: in his time the Deity descended at a *Sacrifice*, and by his wife SATARU'PA' he had two distinguished sons and three daughters. This pair was created, for the multiplication of the human species, after that new creation of the world which the *Bráhmans* call PA'DMACALPI'YA, or the *Lotos* creation.

IF it were worth while to calculate the age of MENU's Institutes according to the *Brahmans*, we must multiply four million three hundred and twenty thousand by six times seventy-one, and add to the product the number of years already past in the seventh *Manwantara*. Of the five MENU's who succeeded him, I have seen little more than the names; but the *Hindu* writings are very diffuse on the life and posterity of the *seventh* MENU, surnamed VAIVASWATA, or *Child of the Sun*. He is supposed to have had ten sons, of whom the eldest was ICSHWA'CU, and to have been accom-

accompanied by seven *Rishi's*, or holy persons, whose names were, CASYAPA, ATRI, VASISHTHA, VISWA'MI RA, GAUTAMA, JAMADAGNI, and BHAR DWA'JA; an account which explains the opening of the fourth chapter of the *Gita*: "This immutable system of devotion," says CRISHNA, "I revealed to VIVASWAT, or the Sun; VIVASWAT declared it to his Son MENU; MENU explained it to ICSHWA'CU: thus the Chief *Rishis* know this sublime doctrine delivered from one to another."

IN the reign of this *Sun-born* Monarch, the *Hindus* believe the whole earth to have been drowned, and the whole human race destroyed by a flood, except the pious Prince himself, the seven *Rishi's*, and their several wives; for they suppose his children to have been born after the Deluge. This general *pra'aya*, or destruction, is the subject of the first *Purana*, or *Sacred Poem*, which consists of fourteen thousand stanzas; and the story is concisely, but clearly and elegantly told in the eighth book of the *Bhagawata*, from which I have extracted the whole, and translated it with great care, but will only present you here with an abridgement of it. "The demon HAYAGRI'VA having purloined the *Vedas* from the custody of BRAHMA', while he was reposing at the close

“ close of the sixth *Manwantara*, the whole
 “ race of men became corrupt, except the
 “ seven *Rishi*'s, and SATYAVRATA, who then
 “ reigned in *Dravira*, a maritime region to
 “ the south of *Carnáta*: this Prince was per-
 “ forming his ablutions in the river *Critamálā*,
 “ when VISHNU appeared to him in the shape
 “ of a small fish and, after several augmen-
 “ tations of bulk in different waters, was
 “ placed by SAT AVRATA in the ocean, where
 “ he thus addressed his amazed votary: “ In
 “ seven days all creatures who have offended
 “ me shall be destroyed by a deluge; but thou
 “ shalt be secured in a capacious vessel, mira-
 “ culously formed; take therefore all kinds of
 “ medicinal herbs and esculent grain for food,
 “ and, together with the seven holy men, your
 “ respective wives, and pairs of all animals,
 “ enter the ark without fear; then shalt thou
 “ know God face to face, and all thy ques-
 “ tions shall be answered.” Saying this, he
 “ disappeared; and after seven days the ocean
 “ began to overflow the coasts, and the earth to
 “ be flooded by constant showers, when
 “ SATYAVRATA, meditating on the Deity,
 “ saw a large vessel moving on the waters: he
 “ entered it, having in all respects conformed
 “ to the instructions of VISHNU, who, in the
 “ form of a vast fish, suffered the vessel to be
 U “ tied

“ tied with a great sea serpent, as with a cable,
 “ to his measureless horn. When the deluge
 “ had ceased, VISHNU slew the demon and re-
 “ covered the *Véda's*, instructed SATYAVRATA
 “ in divine knowledge, and appointed him the se-
 “ venth MENU by the name of VAIVASWATA.”

LET us compare the two *Indian* accounts of the *Creation* and the *Deluge* with those delivered by MOSES. It is not made a question in this tract, Whether the first chapters of *Genesis* are to be understood in a literal, or merely in an allegorical sense? The only points before us are, Whether the creation described by the *first* MENU, which the *Bráhmans* call that of the *Lotos*, be not the same with that recorded in our Scripture; and whether the story of the seventh MENU be not one and the same with that of NOAH? I propose the questions, but affirm nothing; leaving others to settle their opinions, whether ADAM be derived from *ádim*, which in *Sanscrit* means the *first*, or MENU from NUH, the true name of the Patriarch; whether the *Sacrifice* at which God is believed to have descended, allude to the offering of ABEL; and, on the whole, whether the two MENU's can mean any other persons than the great Progenitor, and the Restorer of our species.

ON a supposition that VAIVASWATA, or *Sun-born*, was the NOAH of Scripture, let us proceed to the *Indian* account of his posterity, which

which I extract from *The Puránart' paprecásá*, or *The Purána's Explained*, a work lately composed in *Sanscrit* by RA'DHA'CA'NTA SARMAN, a *Pandit* of extensive learning and great fame among the *Hindus* of this province. Before we examine the genealogies of kings which he has collected from the *Purána's*, it will be necessary to give a general idea of the *Avátara's*, or *Descents*, of the Deity: the *Hindus* believe innumerable such descents or special interpositions of Providence in the affairs of mankind, but they reckon *ten* principal *Avátara's* in the current period of four ages; and all of them are described, in order as they are supposed to occur, in the following Ode of JAYADE'VA, the great Lyrick Poet of *India*.

1. " THOU recoverest the *Véda* in the water
 " of the Ocean of Destruction, *placing it* joy-
 " fully in the bosom of an ark fabricated *by*
 " thee, O CE'SAVA, assuming the body of a *fish*:
 " Be victorious, O HERI, Lord of the Uni-
 " verse !

2. " THE earth stands firm on thy im-
 " mensely broad back, which grows larger
 " from the callus occasioned by bearing that
 " vast burthen, O CE'SAVA, assuming the body
 " of a *tortoise*: Be victorious, O HERI, Lord
 " of the Universe !

3. " THE earth, placed on the point of thy
 " tusk, remains fixed like the figure of a black

“ antelope on the moon, O CE'SAVA, assum-
 “ ing the form of a *boar* : Be victorious, O
 “ HERI, Lord of the Universe !

4. “ THE claw with a stupendous point, on
 “ the exquisite lotos of thy lion's paw, is the
 “ black bee that stung the body of the em-
 “ bowelled HIRANYACASIPU, O CE'SAVA, af-
 “ suming the form of a *man-lion* : Be victorious,
 “ O HERI, Lord of the Universe !

5. “ BY thy power thou beguilest BALI,
 “ O thou miraculous dwarf, thou purifier of
 “ men with the water (*of Gangà*) springing
 “ from thy feet, O CE'SAVA, assuming the
 “ form of a *dwarf* : Be victorious, O HERI,
 “ Lord of the Universe !

6. “ THOU bathest in pure water, consisting
 “ of the blood of *Cshatriya's*, the world, whose
 “ offences are removed, and who are relieved
 “ from the pain of other births, O CE'SAVA,
 “ assuming the form of PARAS'U-RA'MA : Be
 “ victorious, O HERI, Lord of the Universe !

7. “ WITH ease to thyself, with delight to
 “ the Genii of the eight regions, thou scat-
 “ terest on all sides in the plain of combat the
 “ demon with ten heads, O CE'SAVA, assuming
 “ the form of RA'MA CHANDRA : Be victo-
 “ rious, O HERI, Lord of the Universe !

8. “ THOU wearest on thy bright body a
 “ mantle shining like a blue cloud, or like the
 “ water of *Yamunà* tripping towards thee
 “ through

“ through fear of thy furrowing *plough-share*,
 “ O CE'SAVA, assuming the form of PALA-
 “ RA'MA : Be victorious, O HERI, Lord of the
 “ Universe !

9. “ THOU blamest (oh wonderful !) the
 “ whole *Vēda*, when thou seest, O kind-hearted,
 “ the slaughter of cattle prescribed for sacrifice,
 “ O CE'SAVA, assuming the body of BUDDHA :
 “ Be victorious, O HERI, Lord of the Uni-
 “ verse !

10. “ FOR the destruction of all the impure,
 “ thou drawest thy cimeter like a blazing co-
 “ met (how tremendous !) O CE'SAVA, as-
 “ suming the body of CALCI : Be victorious,
 “ O HERI, Lord of the Universe !

THESE ten *Avatāra's* are by some arranged according to the thousands of divine years in each of the four ages, or in an arithmetical proportion from four to one, and if such an arrangement were universally received, we should be able to ascertain a very material point in the HINDU chronology ; I mean the birth of BUDDHA, concerning which the different *Pandits* whom I have consulted, and the same *Pandits* at different times, have expressed a strange diversity of opinion. They all agree that CALCI is yet to come, and that BUDDHA was the last considerable incarnation of the Deity ; but the Astronomers at *Varānes* place him in the *third* age, and RA'DHA'CA'NT insists, that he ap-

peared after the *thousandth* year of the *fourth*: the learned and accurate author of the *Dabistân*, whose information concerning the *Hindus* is wonderfully correct, mentions an opinion of the *Pandits* with whom he had conversed, that BUDDHA began his career *ten* years before the close of the third age; and Góverdhana of *Cashmir*, who had once informed me, that CRISHNA descended *two centuries* before BUDDHA, assured me lately, that the *Cashmirians* admitted an interval of *twenty-four* years (others allow only *twelve*) between those two divine persons. The best authority, after all, is the *Bhágawat* itself, in the first chapter of which it is expressly declared, that “BUDDHA, “ the son of JINA, would appear at *Cicata*, “ for the purpose of confounding the demons, “ just at the beginning of the *Caliyug*.” I have long been convinced, that, on these subjects, we can only reason satisfactorily from *written* evidence, and that our forensic rule must be invariably applied, to take the declarations of the BRAHMANS most strongly against themselves, that is, against their pretensions to antiquity; so that on the whole we may safely place BUDDHA just at the beginning of the present age: but what is the beginning of it? When this question was proposed to RA'DHA'CA'NT, he answered: “Of a period comprising more than “ four hundred thousand years, the first two “ on

“ or three thousand may reasonably be called the “ *beginning*.” On my demanding *written* evidence, he produced a book of some authority, composed by a learned *Góṣwámi*, and entitled *Bhágawatámrita*, or, *The Nectar of the Bhágavat*, on which it is a metrical comment; and the couplet which he read from it deserves to be cited: after the just mentioned account of BUDDHA in the text, the commentator says,

“ Afau vyaçtah calérabdafahaṣradwitayè gatè,

“ Murtih pátálaverná’sya dwibhujà chicurójj’hità.

“ HE *became* visible, the-thousand-and-second-year-of-the-Cali-age *being* past; his body of-a-colour-between-white-and-ruddy, with-two-arms, without-hair *on his head*.”

Cícata, named in the text as the birth-place of BUDDHA, the *Góṣwámi* supposes to have been *Dhermáranya*, a wood near *Gayà*, where a colossal image of that ancient Deity still remains: it seemed to me of black stone; but, as I saw it by torch-light, I cannot be positive as to its colour, which may, indeed, have been changed by time.

THE *Bráhmans* universally speak of the *Bauddhas* with all the malignity of an intolerant spirit; yet the most orthodox among them consider BUDDHA himself as an incarnation of VISHNU; this is a contradiction hard to be reconciled, unless we cut the knot instead of

untying it, by supposing with GIORGI, that there were *two* BUDDHAS, the younger of whom established the new religion, which gave so great offence in *India*, and was introduced into *China* in the first century of our era. The *Cashmirian*, before mentioned, asserted this fact, without being led to it by any question that implied it; and we may have reason to suppose, that *Buddha* is in truth only a general word for a *Philosopher*. The author of a celebrated *Sanscrit* Dictionary, entitled from his name *Amaracōsha*, who was himself a *Bauddha*, and flourished in the first century before CHRIST, begins his vocabulary with nine words that signify *Heaven*, and proceeds to those which mean *a Deity in general*; after which come different *classes* of *Gods*, *Demi-gods*, and *Demons*, all by *generick* names; and they are followed by two very remarkable heads: first, (not the *general names* of BUDDHA, but) the names of a *Buddha-in-general*, of which he gives us eighteen, such as *Muni*, *Sāstri*, *Munindra*, *Vināyaca*, *Samantabhadra*, *Dhermarāja*, *Sugata*, and the like, most of them significative of *excellence*, *wisdom*, *virtue*, and *sanctity*; secondly, the names of *a particular Buddha-Muni-who-descended-in-the-family-of-SA'CYA* (those are the very words of the original), and his titles are, *Sācyamuni*, *Sācyasinha*,

sinha, *Servárt'hasiddha*, *Saudbódani*, *Gautama*, *Arcabandhu*, or *Kinsman of the Sun*, and *Máyádevísuta*, or *Child of Mayá*: thence the author passes to the different epithets of particular *Hindu* Deities. When I pointed out this curious passage to RA'DHA'CA'NT, he contended, that the first eighteen names were *general* epithets, and the following seven, *proper names*, or *patronymicks* of one and the same person; but RA'MA-LO'CHAN, my own teacher, who, though not a *Bráhmaṇ*, is an excellent scholar and a very sensible unprejudiced man, assured me, that *Buddha* was a *generick* word, like *Déva*, and that the learned author, having exhibited the names of a *Dévatà* in general, proceeded to those of a *Buddha* in general, before he came to particulars: he added, that *Buddha* might mean a *Sage* or a *Philosopher*, though *Buddha* was the word commonly used for a mere *wise man* without supernatural powers.

It seems highly probable, on the whole, that the BUDDHA, whom JAYADE'VA celebrates in his Hymn, was the *Sácyasinha*, or *Lion of SA'CYA*, who, though he forbade the sacrifices of cattle, which the *Véda's* enjoin, was believed to be VISHNU himself in a human form, and that another *Buddha*, one perhaps of his followers in a later age, assuming his name and character, attempted to overset the whole system

system of the *Bráhmans*, and was the cause of that persecution, from which the *Bauddhas* are known to have fled into very distant regions. May we not reconcile the singular difference of opinion among the *Hindus* as to the time of BUDDHA's appearance, by supposing that they have confounded the *Two Buddha's*, the first of whom was born a few years before the close of the last age, and the second, when above a thousand years of the present age had elapsed? We know, from better authorities, and with as much certainty as can justly be expected on so doubtful a subject, the real time, compared with our own era, when the ancient BUDDHA began to distinguish himself; and it is for this reason principally, that I have dwelled with minute anxiety on the subject of the last *Avatâr*.

THE *Bráhmans*, who assisted ABU'LEFAZL in his curious but superficial account of his master's empire, informed him, if the figures in the *Ayini Acbari* be correctly written, that a period of 2962 years had elapsed from the birth of BUDDHA to the 40th year of ACBAR's reign, which computation will place his birth in the 1366th year before that of Our Saviour; but when the *Chinese* government admitted a new religion from *India* in the first century of our era, they made particular inquiries concerning the age of the old *India* BUDDHA, whose birth, according

according to COUPLET, they place in the 41st year of their 28th cycle, or 1036 years before CHRIST, and they call him, says he, FOE the son of MOYE or MA'YA'; but M. DE GUIGNES, on the authority of four *Chinese* Historians, asserts, that FO was born about the year before CHRIST 1027, in the kingdom of *Cashmir*: GIORGI, or rather CASSIANO, from whose papers his work was compiled, assures us, that, by the calculation of the *Tibetians*, he appeared only 959 years before the *Christian* epoch; and M. BAILLY, with some hesitation, places him 1031 years before it, but inclines to think him far more ancient, confounding him, as I have done in a former tract, with the *first* BUDHA, or MERCURY, whom the *Goths* called WODEN, and of whom I shall presently take particular notice. Now, whether we assume the medium of the four last mentioned dates, or implicitly rely on the authorities quoted by DE GUIGNES, we may conclude, that BUDHA was first distinguished in this country *about a thousand* years before the beginning of our era; and whoever, in so early an age, expects a certain epoch unqualified with *about* or *nearly*, will be greatly disappointed. Hence it is clear, that, whether the fourth age of the *Hindus* began about *one* thousand years before CHRIST, according to GOVERDHAN's account of BUDHA's birth, or *two* thousand according to that

that of RA'DHA'CA'NT, the common opinion, that 4888 years of it are now elapsed, is erroneous. And here, for the present, we leave BUDDHA, with an intention of returning to him in due time; observing only, that if the learned *Indians* differ so widely in their accounts of the age when their ninth *Avatár* appeared in their country, we may be assured, that they have no certain chronology before him, and may suspect the certainty of all the relations concerning even *his* appearance.

THE received Chronology of the *Hindus* begins with an absurdity so monstrous, as to overthrow the whole system; for, having established their period of *seventy-one divine ages* as the reign of each *Menu*, yet thinking it incongruous to place a holy personage in times of *impurity*, they insist, that the *Menu* reigns only in every *golden age*, and disappears in the *three human ages* that follow it, continuing to dive and emerge like a water-fowl, till the close of his *Manwantara*. The learned author of the *Puránart'hapracása*, which I will now follow step by step, mentioned this ridiculous opinion with a serious face; but as he has not inserted it in his work, we may take his account of the seventh *Menu* according to its obvious and rational meaning, and suppose, that VAIVASWATA, the son of SU'RYA, the son of CASYAPA, or *Uranus* the son of MARI'CHI, or *Light*, the son of BRAHMA, which is clearly an alle-

allegorical pedigree, reigned in the last golden age, or, according to the *Hindus*, three million eight hundred and ninety-two thousand eight hundred and eighty-eight years ago. But they contend, that he actually reigned on earth *one million seven hundred and twenty-eight thousand* years of mortals, or *four thousand eight hundred* years of the Gods; and this opinion is another monster so repugnant to the course of nature and to human reason, that it must be rejected as wholly fabulous, and taken as a proof, that the *Indians* know nothing of their *Sunborn* MENU, but his name and the principal event of his life; I mean the *universal deluge*, of which the *three* first *Avatárs* are merely allegorical representations, with a mixture, especially in the *second*, of astronomical mythology.

FROM this MENU the whole race of men is believed to have descended; for the seven *Risbi's*, who were preserved with him in the ark, are not mentioned as fathers of human families; but since his daughter ILA' was married, as the *Indians* tell us, to the first BUDHA, or *Mercury*, the son of CHANDRA, or the *Moon*, a male Deity, whose father was ATRI, son of BRAHMA' (where again we meet with an allegory purely astronomical or poetical), his posterity are divided into two great branches, called the *Children of the Sun* from his own supposed father, and the *Children of the Moon* from the parent of his daughter's husband:

band : the lineal male descendants in both these families are supposed to have reigned in the cities of *Ayódhya*, or *Audh*, and *Pratish'hana*, or *Vitóra*, respectively, till the *thousandth year of the present age*; and the names of all the princes in both lines having been diligently collected by RA'DHA'CA'NT from several *Purána's*, I exhibit them in two columns arranged by myself with great attention.

S E C O N D A G E.

CHILDREN OF THE

S U N.

M O O N.

Icshwa'cu,	BUDHA,	
<i>Vicucshi</i> ,	<i>Pururavas</i> ,	
Cucutst'ha,	Ayush,	
Anénas,	Nahusha,	
5. <i>Prit'hu</i> ,	<i>Yayáti</i> ,	5.
<i>Vishwagandhi</i> ,	<i>Puru</i> ,	
Chandra,	Janaméjaya,	
Yuvanás'wa,	Prachinwat,	
Sráva,	Pravíra,	
10. <i>Vrihadas'wa</i> ,	<i>Menasyu</i> ,	10.
<i>Dhundhumára</i> ,	<i>Chárupada</i> ,	
<i>Drid'hás'wa</i> ,	<i>Sudyu</i> ,	
<i>Heryas'wa</i> ,	<i>Bahugava</i> ,	
<i>Nicumbha</i> ,	<i>Sanyáti</i> ,	
15. <i>Crifás'wa</i> ,	<i>Ahanyáti</i> ,	15.
<i>Sénajit</i> ,	<i>Raudrás'wa</i> ,	
<i>Yuvanás'wa</i> ,	<i>Ritéyush</i> ,	
	<i>Mándhatri</i> ,	

S U N.

- Mándhatri,
 Purucutsa,
 20. Trafadasyu,
 Anaranya,
 Heryaswa,
 Praruna,
 Trivindhana,
 25. Satyavrata,
 Trifancu,
 Harisçhandra,
 Róhita,
 Harita,
 30. Champa,
 Sudéva,
 Vijaya,
 Bharuca,
 Vrica,
 35. Báhuca,
Sagara,
 Asamanjas,
 Ansumat,
Bhagirat'ha,
 40. Sruta,
 Nábha,
 Sindhudwípa,
 Ayutáyush,
 Ritaperna,
 45. Saudása,
 Asmaca,

M O O N.

- Rantináva,
 Sumati,
 Aiti, 20.
Dushimanta.
Bharata, *
 (Vitat'ha,
 Manyu,
 Vrihatçshétra, 25.
 Hastin,
 Ajamid'ha,
 Ricsha,
 Samwarana,
 Curu, 30.
Jabnu,
 Surat'ha,
 Vidúrat'ha,
 Sárwabhauma,
 Jayatséna, 35.
 Rádhipa,
 Ayutáyush,
 Acrodhana,
 Dévátit'hi,
 Ricsha, 40.
Dilipa,
 Pratípa,
 Sántanu,
Vichitravírya,
 Pándu, 45.
Rudhisht'hir),
 Múlaca,

S U N.

Múlaca,

Dafarat'ha,

Aídabidi,

50. Vifwafaha,

C'hátw'anga,

Dírghabáhu,

Raghu,

Aja,

55. Dafarat'ha,

RA'MA.

IT is agreed among all the *Pandits* that RA'MA, their *seventh* incarnate divinity; appeared as king of *Ayódhyà* in the *interval* between the *silver* and the *brazen* ages; and, if we suppose him to have begun his reign at the very beginning of that interval, still *three thousand three hundred* years of the Gods, or a *million one hundred and eighty-eight thousand* lunar years of mortals will remain in the *silver* age, during which the *fifty-five* princes between VAIVASWATA and RA'MA must have governed the world; but, reckoning *thirty* years for a generation, which is rather too much for a long succession of *eldest* sons, as they are said to have been, we cannot, by the course of nature, extend the *second* age of the *Hindus* beyond *sixteen hundred and fifty* solar years: if we suppose them not to have been *eldest* sons, and even to have lived longer than modern princes

in

in a dissolute age, we shall find only a period of *two thousand* years ; and if we remove the difficulty by admitting miracles, we must cease to reason, and may as well believe at once whatever the *Bráhmans* chuse to tell us.

IN the *Lunar* pedigree we meet with another absurdity equally fatal to the credit of the *Hindu* system : as far as the twenty-second degree of descent from VAIVASWATA, the synchronism of the two families appears tolerably regular, except that the children of the Moon were not all *eldest* sons ; for king YAYA'TI appointed the youngest of his five sons to succeed him in *India*, and allotted inferior kingdoms to the other four, who had offended him ; part of the *Dacshin* or the *South* to YADU, the ancestor of CRISHNA ; the North, to ANU ; the East, to DRUHYA ; and the West, to TURVASU, from whom the *Pandits* believe, or pretend to believe, in compliment to our nation, that we are descended. But of the subsequent degrees in the lunar line they know so little, that, unable to supply a considerable interval between BHARAT and VITAT'HA, whom they call his son and successor, they are under a necessity of asserting, that the great ancestor of YUDHISHT'HIR, actually reigned *seven and twenty thousand years* ; a fable of the same class with that of his wonderful birth, which is the subject of a beautiful *Indian* drama : now, if we suppose his life

to have lasted no longer than that of other mortals, and admit VITAT'HA and the rest to have been his regular successors, we shall fall into another absurdity ; for then, if the generations in both lines were nearly equal, as they would naturally have been, we shall find YUDHISHT'HIR, who reigned confessedly at the close of the *brazen* age, nine generations older than RA'MA, before whose birth the *silver* age is allowed to have ended. After the name of BHARAT, therefore, I have set an asterisk to denote a considerable chasm in the *Indian* History, and have inserted between brackets, as out of their places, his *twenty-four* successors, who reigned, if at all, in the following age immediately before the war of the *Mahábhárat*. The fourth *Avatár*, which is placed in the interval between the *first* and *second* ages, and the fifth, which soon followed it, appear to be moral fables grounded on historical facts : the *fourth* was the punishment of an impious monarch by the Deity himself *bursting from a marble column* in the shape of a *lion* ; and the fifth was the humiliation of an arrogant Prince, by so contemptible an agent as a mendicant *dwarf*. After these, and immediately before BUDDHA, come three great warriors all named RA'MA ; but it may justly be made a question, whether they are not three representations of one person, or three different ways of relating the same history ; the first and second

second RA'MAS are said to have been contemporary ; but whether all or any of them mean RAMA the son of CU'SH, I leave others to determine. The mother of the second RAMA was named CAU'SHALYA', which is a derivative of CUSHALA, and though his father be distinguished by the title or epithet of DA'SARAT'HA, signifying, that *his war-chariot bore him to all quarters of the world*, yet the name of CUSH, as the *Cashmirians* pronounce it, is preserved entire in that of his son and successor, and shadowed in that of his ancestor VICUSHI ; nor can a just objection be made to this opinion from the nasal *Arabian* vowel in the word *Ramah* mentioned by MOSES, since the very word *Arab* begins with the same letter which the *Greeks* and *Indians* could not pronounce, and they were obliged, therefore, to express it by the vowel which most resembled it. On this question, however, I assert nothing ; nor on another, which might be proposed : “ Whether the *fourth* and *fifth Avatars* be not allegorical stories of the two presumptuous monarchs, NIMROD and BELUS ? ” The hypothesis, that government was first established, laws enacted, and agriculture encouraged in *India* by RAMA, about *three thousand eight hundred* years ago, agrees with the received account of NOAH's death, and the previous settlement of his immediate descendants.

T H I R D A G E .

CHILDREN OF THE

S U N .

M O O N .

	<i>Cushta,</i>		
	<i>Atit'hi,</i>		
	<i>Nishadha,</i>		
	<i>Nabhas,</i>		
5.	<i>Pun'daríca,</i>	<i>Vitat'ha,</i>	
	<i>Cshémadhanwas,</i>	<i>Manyu,</i>	
	<i>Déváníca,</i>	<i>Vrihatcshétra,</i>	
	<i>Ahín'agu,</i>	<i>Hastin,</i>	
	<i>Páripátra,</i>	<i>Ajamíd'ha,</i>	5.
10.	<i>Ranach'hala,</i>	<i>Ricsha,</i>	
	<i>Vajranábha,</i>	<i>Samwarana,</i>	
	<i>Arca,</i>	<i>Curu,</i>	
	<i>Sugana,</i>	<i>Jahnu,</i>	
	<i>Vidhriti,</i>	<i>Surat'ha,</i>	10.
15.	<i>Hiranyanábha,</i>	<i>Vidúrat'ha,</i>	
	<i>Pushya,</i>	<i>Sárvabhauma,</i>	
	<i>Dhruvafandhi,</i>	<i>Jayatféna,</i>	
	<i>Sudersana,</i>	<i>Rádhica,</i>	
	<i>Agniverna,</i>	<i>Ayutáyush,</i>	15.
20.	<i>Síghra,</i>	<i>Acródhana,</i>	
	<i>Maru,</i> supposed to be } still alive,	<i>Dévatit'hi,</i>	
	<i>Prausfruta,</i>	<i>Ricsha,</i>	
	<i>Sandhi,</i>	<i>Dilípa,</i>	
	<i>Amerfana,</i>	<i>Pratípa,</i>	20.
25.	<i>Mahafwat,</i>	<i>Viswabáhu,</i>	

SUN.

Víswabháhu,

Prasēnait,

Tas̄haca,

Vrihadbala,

30. Vrihadrana, Y. B. C. }
3100.

MOON.

Sántanu,

Vichitravíiya,

Pándu,

Yudhisht'hira,

} Paricshit. 25

HERE we have only *nine-and-twenty* Princes of the Solar line between RA'MA and VRIHAD-RANA exclusively; and their reigns, during the whole *brazen* age, are supposed to have lasted near *eight hundred and sixty-four thousand* years, a supposition evidently against nature; the uniform course of which allows only a period of *eight hundred and seventy*, or at the very utmost, of *a thousand* years for *twenty-nine* generations. PARI'CSHIT, the great nephew and successor of YUDHISHT'HIR, who had recovered the throne from DURYO'DHAN, is allowed without controversy to have reigned in the interval between the *brazen* and *earthen* ages, and to have died at the setting-in of the *Caliyug*; so that if the *Pandits* of *Cashmír* and *Varánes* have made a right calculation of BUDDHA's appearance, the present, or *fourth*, age must have begun about *a thousand* years before the birth of CHRIST, and consequently the reign of ICISHWA'CU could not have been earlier than *four thousand* years before that great epoch; and even that date will perhaps appear, when

it shall be strictly examined, to be near *two thousand* years earlier than the truth. I cannot leave the third *Indian* age, in which the virtues and vices of mankind are said to have been equal, without observing, that even the close of it is manifestly fabulous and poetical, with hardly more *appearance* of historical truth than the tale of *Troy*, or of the *Argonauts*; for YUDHISHT'HIR, it seems, was the son of DHERMA, the *Genius of Justice*; BHI'MA of PAVAN, or the *God of Wind*; ARJUN of INDRA, or the *Firmament*: NACUL and SAHADE'VA, of the two CUMA'RS, the CASTOR and POLLUX of *India*; and BHI'SHMA, their reputed great uncle, was the child of GANGA', or the GANGES, by SA'NTANU, whose brother DE'VA'PI is supposed to be still alive in the city of *Calápa*; all which fictions may be charming embellishments of an heroick poem, but are just as absurd in civil history, as the descent of two royal families from the Sun and the Moon.

F O U R T H A G E .

CHILDREN OF THE

S U N .

Urucriya,
Vatsavriiddha,
Prativyóma,

M O O N .

Janaméjaya,
Satánica,
Sahafránica,
Bhánu,

SUN.

Bhānu,
 5. Dēvāca,
 Sahadēva,
 Vīra,
 Vrihadāswa,
 Bhānumat,
 10. Praticāswa,
 Supratīca,
 Marudēva,
 Sunacshatra,
 Pushtcara,
 15. Antarcisha,
 Sutapas,
 Amitrajit,
 Vrihadrāja,
 Barhi,
 20. Critanjaya,
 Rananjaya,
 Sanjaya,
 Slócyā,
 Suddhódā,
 25. Lāngalada,
 Prasénajit,
 Cshudraca,
 Sumitra, Y. B. C. 2100. Cshémaca.

MOON.

Aswamédhaja,
 Asímacrishna, 5.
 Némichacra,
 Upta,
 Chitrarat'ha,
 Suchirat'ha,
 Dhritimat, 10.
 Sushéna,
 Sunít'ha,
 Nrichacshuh,
 Suc'hinala,
 Pariplava, 15.
 Sunaya,
 Médhávin,
 Nripanjaya,
 Derva,
 Timi, 20.
 Vrihadrat'ha,
 Sudásā,
 Satánica,
 Durmadana,
 Rahínara, 25.
 Dandapáni,
 Nimi,

Nimi,

IN both families, we see *thirty* generations
 are reckoned from YUDHISHT'HIR, and from

it shall be strictly examined, to be near *two thousand* years earlier than the truth. I cannot leave the third *Indian* age, in which the virtues and vices of mankind are said to have been equal, without observing, that even the close of it is manifestly fabulous and poetical, with hardly more *appearance* of historical truth than the tale of *Troy*, or of the *Argonauts*; for YUDHISHT'HIR, it seems, was the son of DHERMA, the *Genius of Justice*; BHI'MA of PAVAN, or the *God of Wind*; ARJUN of INDRA, or the *Firmament*: NACUL and SAHADE'VA, of the two CUMA'RS, the CASTOR and POLLUX of *India*; and BHI'SHMA, their reputed great uncle, was the child of GANGA', or the GANGES, by SA'NTANU, whose brother DE'VA'PI is supposed to be still alive in the city of *Calapa*; all which fictions may be charming embellishments of an heroick poem, but are just as absurd in civil history, as the descent of two royal families from the Sun and the Moon.

F O U R T H A G E.

CHILDREN OF THE

S U N.

Urucriya,
Vatsavriiddha,
Prativyóma,

M O O N.

Janaméjaya,
Satánica,
Sahafránica,
Bhánu,

SUN.

Bhānu,
 5. Dēvāca,
 Sahadēva,
 Vīra,
 Vrihadafwa,
 Bhānumat,
 10. Praticāswa,
 Supratīca,
 Marudēva,
 Sunacshatra,
 Pufhcara,
 15. Antaricsha,
 Sutapas,
 Amitrajit,
 Vrihadrája,
 Barhi,
 20. Critanjaya,
 Rananjaya,
 Sanjaya,
 Slócya,
 Suddhódā,
 25. Lāngalada,
 Prasénajit,
 Cshudraca,
 Sumitra, Y. B. C. 2100. Cshémaca.

MOON.

Aswamédhaja,
 Asímacrishna, 5.
 Némichacra,
 Upta,
 Chitrarat'ha,
 Suchirat'ha,
 Dhritimat, 10.
 Sushéna,
 Sunít'ha,
 Nrichacshuh,
 Suc'hinala,
 Pariplava, 15.
 Sunaya,
 Médhávin,
 Nripanjaya,
 Derva,
 Timi, 20.
 Vrihadrat'ha,
 Sudáfa,
 Satánica,
 Durmadana,
 Rahínara, 25.
 Dandapáni,
 Nimi,

IN both families, we see *thirty* generations
 are reckoned from YUDHISHT'HIR, and from

VRIHADBALA his contemporary (who was killed, in the war of *Bhárat*, by ABHIMANYU, son of ARJUN, and father of PARI'CSHIT), to the time when the *Solar* and *Lunar* dynasties are believed to have become extinct in the present divine age; and for these generations the *Hindus* allot a period of *one thousand* years only, or a *hundred* years for *three* generations; which calculation, though probably too large, is yet moderate enough, compared with their absurd accounts of the preceding ages: but they reckon exactly the same number of years for *twenty* generations only in the family of JARA'SANDHA, whose son was contemporary with YUDHISHT'HIR, and founded a new dynasty of Princes in *Magadha*, or *Bahàr*; and this exact coincidence of the time, in which the three races are supposed to have been extinct, has the appearance of an artificial chronology, formed rather from imagination than from historical evidence; especially as twenty kings, in an age comparatively modern, could not have reigned a thousand years.

I, NEVERTHELESS, exhibit the list of them as a curiosity; but am far from being convinced, that all of them ever existed: that, if they did exist, they could not have reigned more than *seven hundred* years, I am fully persuaded by the course of nature and the concurrent opinion of mankind.

KINGS

KINGS OF MAGADHA.

Sahadéva,	Suchi,	
Márjári,	Cshéma,	
Srutafravas,	Suvrata,	
Ayutáyush,	Dhermasútra,	
5. Niramitra,	Srama,	15.
Sunacshatra,	Drid'haféna,	
Vrihetféna,	Sumati,	
Carmajit,	Subala,	
Srutanjaya,	Suníta,	
10. Vipra,	Satyajit,	20.

PURANJAYA, son of the twentieth king, was put to death by his minister SUNACA, who placed his own son PRADYO'TA on the throne of his master; and this revolution constitutes an epoch of the highest importance in our present inquiry; first, because it happened according to the *Bhágawatámrita*, two years exactly before BUDDHA's appearance in the same kingdom; next, because it is believed by the *Hindus* to have taken place *three thousand eight hundred and eighty-eight* years ago, or *two thousand one hundred* years before CHRIST; and, lastly, because a regular chronology, according to the number of years in each dynasty, has been established from the accession of PRADYO'TA to the subversion of the genuine *Hindu* government; and that chronology I will
now

now lay before you, after observing only, that RA'DHA'CA'NT himself says nothing of BUDDHA in this part of his work, though he particularly mentions the two preceding *Avatára's* in their proper places.

KINGS OF MAGADHA.

	Y. B. C.
Pradyóta,	2100
Pálaca,	
Viśác'hayúpa,	
Rájaca,	
Nandiverdhana, 5 reigns = 138 years,	
Sifunága,	1962
Cácaverna,	
Cśhémadherman,	
Cśhétrajnya,	
Vidhiśára, 5,	
Ajátaśatru,	
Darbhaca,	
Ajaya,	
Nandiverdhana,	
Mahánandi, 10 r = 360 y.	
NANDA,	1602

THIS prince, of whom frequent mention is made in the *Sanscrit* books, is said to have been murdered, after a reign of *a hundred years*, by a very learned and ingenious, but passionate and

and vindictive, *Bráhma*n, whose name was CHA'NACYA, and who raised to the throne a man of the *Maurya* race, named CHANDRA-GUPTA : by the death of NANDA, and his sons, the *Cshatriya* family of PRADYO'TA became extinct.

MAURYA KINGS.

	Y. B. C.
Chandragupta,	1502
Várisára,	
Asócaverdhana,	
Suyasas,	
Defarat'ha, 5,	
Sangata,	
Sálifúca,	
Sómasarman,	
Satadhanwas,	
Vrihadrat'ha, 10 r = 137 y.	

ON the death of the tenth *Maurya* king, his place was assumed by his Commander in Chief, PUSHPAMITRA, of the *Sunga* nation or family.

SUNGA KINGS.

	Y. B. C.
Pushpamitra,	1365
Agnimitra,	
Sujyészht'ha,	

SUNDA KINGS.

	Y. B. C.
Sujyészta,ha,	1365
Vasumitra,	
Abhadraça, 5.	
Pulinda,	
Ghósha,	
Vajramitra,	
Bhágavata,	
Dévabhúti, 10 r = 112 y.	

THE last prince was killed by his minister VASUDE'VA, of the *Canna* race, who usurped the throne of *Magadha*.

CANNA KINGS.

	Y. B. C.
Vasudéva,	1253
Bhúmitra,	
Naráyana,	
Sufarman, 4 r = 345 y.	

A *Súdra*, of the *Andhra* family, having murdered his master SUSARMAN, and seized the government, founded a new dynasty of

ANDHRA KINGS.

	Y. B. C.
Balin,	908
Crishna,	

Srifántacarna,

ANDHRA KINGS.

Y. B. C.

908

Sriśāntacarna,

Paurṇamāśa,

Lambódara, 5.

Vivilaca,

Méghaśwāta,

Vátamána,

Talaca,

Sivaśwāti, 10.

Puríśhabhéru,

Sunandana,

Chacóracā,

Bátaca,

Gómatin, 15.

Purímat,

Médaśiras,

Siraścand'ha,

Yajnyaśrì,

Vijaya, 20.

Chandrabiśa, 21 r = 456 y.

AFTER the death of CHANDRABIŚA, which happened, according to the *Hindus*, 396 years before VICRAMA'DITYA, or 452 B. C. we hear no more of *Magadha* as an independent kingdom; but RA'DHA'CA'NT has exhibited the names of *seven* dynasties, in which *seventy-six* princes are said to have reigned *one thousand three*

three hundred and ninety-nine years in *Avabhriti*, a town of the *Dacshin*, or *South*, which we commonly call *Decan*: the names of the seven dynasties, or of the families who established them, are, *Abhira*, *Gardabhin*, *Canca*, *Yavana*, *Turushcara*, *Bhurunda*, *Maula*; of which the *Yavana*'s are by some, not generally, supposed to have been *Ionians*, or *Greeks*, but the *Turushcara*'s and *Maula*'s are universally believed to have been *Turcs* and *Moguls*; yet *RA'DHA'CA'NT* adds: "when the *Maula* race was extinct, five Princes, named *Bhūnanda*, *Bangira*, *Sisunandi*, *Yasōnandi*, and *Praviraca*, reigned an hundred and six years (or till the year 1053) in the city of *Cilacilā*," which, he tells me, he understands to be in the country of the *Mahārāshtra*'s, or *Mahrāta*'s: and here ends his *Indian Chronology*; for "after *PRA-VI'RACA*," says he, "this Empire was divided among *Mlēc'h'has*, or *Infidels*."

THIS account of the *seven modern dynasties* appears very doubtful in itself, and has no relation to our present enquiry; for their dominion seems confined to the *Decan*, without extending to *Magadha*; nor have we any reason to believe, that a race of *Grecian* Princes ever established a kingdom in either of those countries: as to the *Moguls*, their dynasty still subsists, at least nominally; unless that of
Chengiz

Chengiz be meant, and his successors could not have reigned in any part of *India* for the period of *three hundred* years, which is assigned to the *Maula's*; nor is it probable, that the word *Turc*, which an *Indian* could have easily pronounced and clearly expressed in the *Nágarí* letters, should have been corrupted into *Turushcara*. On the whole, we may safely close the most authentick system of *Hindu* Chronology, that I have yet been able to procure, with the death of CHANDRABI'JA. Should any farther information be attainable, we shall, perhaps, in due time attain it, either from books or inscriptions in the *Sanscrit* language; but from the materials with which we are at present supplied, we may establish as indubitable the two following propositions; that the *three first* ages of the *Hindus* are chiefly *mythological*, whether their mythology was founded on the dark enigmas of their astronomers or on the heroick fictions of their poets; and, that the *fourth, or historical, age* cannot be carried farther back than about two thousand years before CHRIST. Even in the history of the present age, the generations of men and the reigns of kings are extended beyond the course of nature, and beyond the average resulting from the accounts of the *Bráhmans* themselves; for they assign to *an hundred and forty-two* modern reigns

reigns a period of *three thousand one hundred and fifty-three* years, or about *twenty-two* years to a reign, one with another; yet they represent only four *Canna* Princes on the throne of *Magadha* for a period of *three hundred and forty-five* years; now it is even more improbable, that four successive kings should have reigned *eighty-six years and three months* each, than that *NANDA* should have been king an *hundred* years, and murdered at last. Neither account can be credited; but, that we may allow the highest probable antiquity to the *Hindu* government, let us grant, that *three generations* of men were equal on an average to *an hundred* years, and that *Indian* Princes have reigned, one with another, *two and twenty*; then reckoning thirty generations from *ARJUN*, the brother of *YUDHISHT'HIRA*, to the extinction of his race, and taking the *Chinese* account of *BUDDHA*'s birth from *M. DE GUIGNES*, as the most authentic medium between *ABU'LEAZL* and the *Tibetians*, we may arrange the corrected *Hindu* Chronology according to the following table, supplying the word *about* or *nearly* (since perfect accuracy cannot be attained and ought not to be required), before every date.

	Y. B. C.
Abhimanyu, <i>son of</i> <i>ARJUN</i> ,	2029
Pradyóta, — —	1029
	<i>BUDDHA</i> ,

		Y. B. C.
BUDDHA,	—	1027
NANDA,	— —	699
Balin,	— —	149
VICRAMA'DITYA	—	56
DE'VAPA'LA, <i>king of Gaur,</i>		23

IF we take the date of BUDDHA's appearance from ABU'LEAZL, we must place ABHIMANYU 2368 years before CHRIST, unless we calculate from the twenty kings of *Magadha*, and allow *seven hundred* years, instead of *a thousand*, between ARJUN and PRADYO'TA, which will bring us again very nearly to the date exhibited in the table; and, perhaps, we can hardly approach nearer to the truth. As to *Rāja* NANDA, if he really sat on the throne a whole century, we must bring down the *Andhra* dynasty to the age of VICRAMA'DITYA, who with his feudatories had probably obtained so much power during the reign of those princes, that they had little more than a nominal sovereignty, which ended with CHANDRABI'JA, in the *third* or *fourth* century of the *Christian* era; having, no doubt, been long reduced to insignificance by the kings of *Gaur*, descended from GO'PA'LA. But, if the author of the *Dabistân* be warranted in fixing the birth of BUDDHA *ten* years before the *Caliyug*, we must thus correct the Chronological Table:

Y

BUDDHA,

		Y. B. C.
BUDDHA,	—	1027
Paricshit,	—	1017
Pradyóta, (reckoning 20 or 30 generations,)	} 317 or 17	

		Y. A. C.
Nanda,	— —	13 or 313

This correction would oblige us to place VICRAMA'DITYA before NANDA, to whom, as all the *Pandits* agree, he was long posterior; and, if this be an historical fact, it seems to confirm the *Bhágawatámrita*, which fixes the beginning of the *Caliyug* about *a thousand* years before BUDDHA: besides that, BALIN would then be brought down at least to the sixth and CHANDRABI'JA to the tenth century after CHRIST, without leaving room for the subsequent dynasties, if they reigned successively.

THUS have we given a sketch of *Indian History* through the longest period fairly assignable to it, and have traced the foundation of the *Indian* empire above *three thousand eight hundred* years from the present time; but, on a subject in itself so obscure, and so much clouded by the fictions of the *Bráhmans*, who, to aggrandize themselves, have designedly raised their antiquity beyond the truth, we must be satisfied with probable conjecture and just reasoning

soning from the best attainable data; nor can we hope for a system of *Indian* Chronology to which no objection can be made, unless the astronomical books in *Sanscrit* shall clearly ascertain the places of the colures in some precise years of the historical age; not by loose traditions, like that of a coarse observation by CHIRON, who possibly never existed, for “he lived,” says NEWTON, in the golden age,” which must long have preceded the *Argonautick* expedition) but by such evidence as our own astronomers and scholars shall allow to be unexceptionable.

A CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE,
*according to one of the HYPOTHESES intimated
 in the preceding Tract.*

CHRISTIAN and MUSELMAN.	HINDU.	Years from 1788 of our era.
ADAM,	MENU I. Age I.	5794
NOAH,	MENU II.	4737
Deluge,		4138
Nimrod,	Hiranyacasipu. Age II.	4006
Bel,	Bali,	3892
RAMA,	RAMA. Age III.	3817
Noah's death,		3787
	Pradyóta,	2817
	BUDDHA. Age IV.	2815
	Nanda,	2487
	Balin,	1937
	Vacramáditya,	1844
	Dévapála,	1811
CHRIST,		1787
	Náráyanpála,	1721
	Sacá,	1709
Walid,		1080
Mahmùd,		786
Chengiz,		548
Taimùr,		391
Babur,		276
Nàdirsháh,		49

DIS-

DISSERTATION X.

A

SUPPLEMENT

TO THE

ESSAY ON INDIAN CHRONOLOGY.

OUR ingenious affociate Mr. SAMUEL DAVIS, whom I name with respect and applause, and who will soon, I trust, convince M. BAILLY, that it is very possible for an *European* to translate and explain the *Sûrya Siddhânta*, favoured me lately with a copy, taken by his *Pandit*, of the original passage mentioned in his paper on the Astronomical Computations of the *Hindus*, concerning the places of the colures in the time of VARA'HA, compared with their position in the age of a certain *Muni*, or ancient *Indian* philosopher ; and the passage appears to afford evidence of two actual observations, which will ascertain the chronology of the *Hindus*, if not by rigorous demonstration, at least by a near approach to it.

THE copy of the *Vârâhîsanhitâ*, from which the three pages, received by me, had been transcribed, is unhappily so incorrect (if the tran-

script itself was not hastily made) that every line of it must be disfigured by some gross error ; and my *Pandit*, who examined the passage carefully at his own house, gave it up as inexplicable ; so that, if I had not studied the system of *Sanscrit* prosody, I should have laid it aside in despair : but though it was written as prose, without any sort of distinction or punctuation, yet, when I read it aloud, my ear caught in some sentences the cadence of verse, and of a particular metre, called *A'ryà*, which is regulated (not by the *number* of syllables, like other *Indian* measures, but) by the proportion of *times*, or *syllabick moments*, in the four divisions, of which every stanza consists. By numbering those moments and fixing their proportion, I was enabled to restore the text of VARA'HA, with the perfect assent of the learned *Bráhmén* who attends me ; and, with his assistance, I also corrected the comment written by BHATTO'TPALA, who, it seems, was a son of the author, together with three curious passages which are cited in it. Another *Pandit* afterwards brought me a copy of the whole original work, which confirmed my conjectural emendations, except in two immaterial syllables, and except, that the first of the six couplets in the text is quoted in the commentary from a different work entitled *Panchasiddhánticà* : five of them were composed by VARA'HA himself,

self, and the third chapter of his treatise begins with them.

BEFORE I produce the original verses, it may be useful to give you an idea of the *A'ryà* measure, which will appear more distinctly in Latin than in any modern language of *Europe* :

Tigridas, apros, thoas, tyrannos, pessima monstra, venemur :
Dic hinnulus, dic lepus male quid egerint graminivori.

The couplet might be so arranged, as to begin and end with the cadence of an hexameter and pentameter, six *moments* being interposed in the middle of the long, and seven in that of the short, hemistich :

Thoas, apros, tigridas nos *venemur*, pejoresque tyrannos :
Dic tibi cerva, lepus *tibi dic male quid* egerit herbivorus.

Since the *A'ryà* measure, however, may be almost infinitely varied, the couplet would have a form completely *Roman*, if the proportion of *syllabick instants*, in the long and short verses, were *twenty-four* to *twenty*, instead of *thirty* to *twenty-seven* :

Venor apros tigridasque, et, pessima monstra, tyrannos :
Cerva mali quid agunt herbivorusque lepus ?

I now exhibit the five stanzas of VARA'HA in *European* characters.

Asléshárdhaddacshinamuttaramayanan ravérdhanisht'hádyan
Núnan cadáchidásidyénóctan púrva fastreshu.
Sámpratamayanan savituh carcátacádyan mrigáditaśchányat :
Uctábhávè vicritih pratyacshaperícshair vyaçtíh.
Dúraft'hachihnavédyádudayé'stamayé'pivà fahaśránśóh,

Ch'háyápravéfanirgamachihnairvà mandalè mahati.
 Aprápya macaramarcò vinivrittò hanti fáparán yámyán,
 Carcátacamañanpráptò vinivrittaschóttaràn faindrín.
 Uttaramayanamatítýa vyávrittah cihémasafya vríddhicarah,
 Pracritist'haschápyévan vicritigatir bhayacridushnánfuh.

OF the five couplets thus exhibited, the following translation is most scrupulously literal :

“ CERTAINLY the southern solstice was
 “ once in the middle of *Asleshá*, the northern
 “ in the first *degree* of *Dhanisht'hà*, by what is
 “ recorded in former *Sástras*. At present one
 “ solstice is in the first *degree* of *Carcata*, and
 “ the other in the first of *Macara*: that which
 “ is recorded not appearing, a change *must*
 “ *have happened*; and the proof arises from
 “ ocular demonstrations; *that is*, by observing
 “ the remote object and its marks at the rising
 “ or setting of the sun, or by the marks, in a
 “ large *graduated* circle, of the shadow's in-
 “ gress and egress. The sun, by turning back
 “ without having reached *Macara*, destroys the
 “ south and the west; by turning back with-
 “ out having reached *Carcata*, the north and
 “ east. By returning, when he has just
 “ passed the winter solstitial point, he makes
 “ wealth secure and grain abundant, since he
 “ moves thus according to nature; but the sun,
 “ by moving unnaturally, excites terror.”

Now the *Hindu* Astronomers agree, that
 the 1st *January* 1790 was in the year 4891 of
 the

the *Caliyuga*, or their *fourth* period, at the beginning of which, they say, the equinoctial points were in the first degrees of *Mésha* and *Tulà*; but they are also of opinion, that the vernal equinox oscillates from the third of *Mina* to the twenty-seventh of *Mésha* and back again in 7200 years, which they divide into four *pádas*, and consequently that it moves, in the two intermediate *pádas*, from the first to the twenty-seventh of *Mésha* and back again in 3600 years; the colure cutting their ecliptick in the first of *Mésha*, which coincides with the first of *Aswin*, at the beginning of every such oscillatory period. VARA'HA, surnamed MIHIRA, or the Sun, from his knowledge of astronomy, and usually distinguished by the title of *Achárya*, or teacher of the *Véda*, lived confessedly when the *Caliyuga* was far advanced; and, since by actual observation he found the solstitial points in the first degrees of *Carcata* and *Macara*, the equinoctial points were at the same time in the first of *Mésha* and *Tulà*: he lived, therefore, in the year 3600 of the fourth *Indian* period, or 1291 years before 1st *January* 1790, that is, about the year 499 of our era. This date corresponds with the *ayanánsha*, or precession, calculated by the rule of the *Súryasiddhánta*; for $19^{\circ} 21' 54''$ would be the precession of the equinox in 1291 years, according to the *Hindu* computation of $54''$ annually, which gives us the origin of
the

the *Indian* Zodiack nearly ; but, by NEWTON's demonstrations, which agree as well with the phenomena, as the varying density of our earth will admit, the equinox recedes about 50" every year, and has receded $17^{\circ} 55' 50''$ since the time of VARĀ'HA, which gives us more nearly in our own sphere the first degree of *Mēsha* in that of the *Hindus*. By the observation recorded in older *Sāstras*, the equinox had gone back $23^{\circ} 20'$, or about 1680 years had intervened, between the age of the *Muni* and that of the modern astronomer: the former observation, therefore, must have been made about 2971 years before 1st *January* 1790, that is 1181 before CHRIST.

WE come now to the commentary, which contains information of the greatest importance. By former *Sāstras* are meant, says BHATTO'P-TALA, the books of PARĀ'SARA and of other *Munis*; and he then cites from the *Pārāsara Sanhitā* the following passage, which is in modulated prose, and in a style much resembling that of the *Vēdas*.

SRAVISHTA'DYA'T paushn'ardhantan charah
fi'sirò ; vasantah paushnārdhāt rōhinyāntan ;
saumyādyādāflēshārdhāntan grīshmah ; prāvri-
dāflēshārdhāt haistāntan ; chitrādyāt jyesh't'hārd-
hāntan sarat ; hēmantò jyesh't'hārdhāt vaish-
n'avāntan.

“ THE

“ THE season of *Sifira* is from the first of
 “ *Dhanisht'hà* to the middle of *Révatì*; that of
 “ *Vasanta* from the middle of *Révatì* to the
 “ end of *Róhini*; that of *Grishma* from the be-
 “ ginning of *Mrigrásiras* to the middle of
 “ *Ashléshà*; that of *Vershà* from the middle of
 “ *Ashléshà* to the end of *Hasta*; that of *Sarad*
 “ from the first of *Chitrà* to the middle of
 “ *Jyést'hà*; that of *Hémanta* from the middle
 “ of *Jyést'hà* to the end of *Sravanà*.”

THIS account of the fix *Indian* seasons, each of which is co-extensive with two signs, or four lunar stations and a half, places the solstitial points, as VARA'HA has asserted, in the first degree of *Dhanisht'hà*, and the middle, or $6^{\circ} 40'$, of *Ashléshà*, while the equinoctial points were in the tenth degree of *Bharanì* and $3^{\circ} 20'$ of *Visac'hà*; but, in the time of VARA'HA, the solstitial colure passed through the 10th degree of *Punarvasu* and $3^{\circ} 20'$ of *Uttarashará*, while the equinoctial colure cut the *Hindu* ecliptick in the first of *Aswin* and $6^{\circ} 40'$ of *Chitrà*, or the *Yóga* and only star of that mansion, which, by the way, is indubitably the *Spike* of the *Virgin*, from the known longitude of which all other points in the *Indian* Zodiack may be computed. It cannot escape notice, that PARA'SARA does not use in this passage the phrase *at present*, which occurs

curs in the text of VARA'HA ; so that the places of the colures might have been ascertained *before* his time, and a considerable change might have happened in their true position without any change in the phrases by which the seasons were distinguished ; as our popular language in astronomy remains unaltered, though the Zodiacal asterisms are now removed a whole sign from the places where they have left their names : it is manifest, nevertheless, that PARA'SARA must have written *within twelve centuries* before the beginning of our era, and that single fact, as we shall presently show, leads to very momentous consequences in regard to the system of *Indian* history and literature.

ON the comparison, which might easily be made, between the colures of PARA'SARA and those ascribed by EUDOXUS to CHIRON, the supposed assistant and instructor of the *Argonauts*, I shall say very little ; because the whole *Argonautick* story (which neither was, according to HERODOTUS, nor, indeed, could have been, originally *Grecian*) appears, even when stripped of its poetical and fabulous ornaments, extremely disputable ; and, whether it was founded on a league of the *Helladian* princes and states for the purpose of checking, on a favourable opportunity, the overgrown power of *Egypt*, or with a view to secure the commerce

commerce of the *Euxine* and appropriate the wealth of *Colchis*, or, as I am disposed to believe, on an emigration from *Africa* and *Asia* of that adventurous race who had first been established in *Chaldea*; whatever, in short, gave rise to the fable, which the old poets have so richly embellished, and the old historians have so inconsiderately adopted, it seems to me very clear, even on the principles of NEWTON, and on the same authorities to which he refers, that the voyage of the *Argonauts* must have preceded the year in which his calculations led him to place it. BATTUS built *Cyrene*, says our great philosopher, on the site of *Irafa*, the city of ANTÆUS, in the year 633 before CHRIST; yet he soon after calls EURIPYLUS, with whom the *Argonauts* had a conference, king of *Cyrene*, and in both passages he cites PINDAR, whom I acknowledge to have been the most learned, as well as the sublimest, of poets. Now, if I understand PINDAR (which I will not assert, and I neither possess nor remember at present the *Scholia*, which I formerly perused) the fourth *Pythian* Ode begins with a short panegyrick on ARCESILAS of *Cyrene*: “ Where, “ says the bard, the priestess, who sat near “ the golden eagles of Jove, prophesied of “ old, when APOLLO was not absent from his “ mansion,

“ mansion, that BATTUS, the colonizer of
 “ fruitful *Lybia*, having just left the fa-
 “ cred isle (*Thera*), should build a city
 “ excelling in cars, on the splendid breast of
 “ earth, and, *with the seventeenth generation*,
 “ should refer to himself the *Therean* pre-
 “ diction of MEDEA, which that princess of
 “ the *Colchians*, that impetuous daughter of
 “ ÆETES, breathed from her immortal mouth,
 “ and thus delivered to the half-divine ma-
 “ riners of the warrior JASON.” From this
 introduction to the noblest and most animated of
 the *Argonautick* poems, it appears, that *fifteen*
complete generations had intervened between the
 voyage of JASON and the emigration of
 BATTUS; so that considering *three* generations
 as equal to *an hundred* or *an hundred and twenty*
 years, which NEWTON admits to be the *Grecian*
 mode of computing them, we must place that
 voyage at least *five* or *six hundred* years before
 the time fixed by NEWTON himself, according
 to his own computation, for the building of
Cyrene; that is, *eleven* or *twelve hundred and*
thirty-three years before CHRIST; an age very
 near on a medium to that of PARA’SARA. If
 the poet means afterwards to say, as I under-
 stand him, that ARCESILAS, his contemporary,
 was the *eighth* in descent from BATTUS, we
 shall draw nearly the same conclusion, without
 having

having recourse to the unnatural reckoning of *thirty-three* or *forty* years to a generation ; for PINDAR was forty years old, when the *Persians*, having crossed the *Hellepont*, were nobly resisted at *Thermopylæ*, and gloriously defeated at *Salamis* : he was born, therefore, about the sixty-fifth *Olympiad*, or five hundred and twenty years before our era ; so that, by allowing more naturally *six* or *seven hundred* years to *twenty-three* generations, we may at a medium place the voyage of JASON about one thousand one hundred and seventy years before Our Saviour, or about *forty-five* years before the beginning of the *Newtonian* chronology.

THE description of the old colures by EUDOXUS, if we implicitly rely on his testimony and on that of HIPPARCHUS, who was, indisputably, a great astronomer for the age in which he lived, affords, I allow, sufficient evidence of some rude observation about 937 years before the *Christian* epoch ; and, if the cardinal points had receded from those colures $36^{\circ} 29' 10''$ at the beginning of the year 1690, and $37^{\circ} 52' 30''$ on the first of *January* in the present year, they must have gone back $3^{\circ} 23' 20''$ between the observation implied by PARASAR and that recorded by EUDOXUS ; or, in other words, 244 years must have elapsed between the two observations : but, this disquisition

having

having little relation to our principal subject, I proceed to the last couplets of our *Indian* astronomer VARA'HA MIHIRA : which, though merely astrological and consequently absurd, will give occasion to remarks of no small importance. They imply, that, when the solstices are not in the first degrees of *Carcata* and *Macara*, the motion of the sun is contrary to nature, and being caused, as the commentator intimates, by some *utpāta*, or preternatural agency, must necessarily be productive of misfortune ; and this vain idea seems to indicate a very superficial knowledge even of the system which *Varāha* undertook to explain ; but he might have adopted it solely as a religious tenet, on the authority of GARGA, a priest of eminent sanctity, who expresses the same wild notion in the following couplet :

Yadā nivertatē'prāptah fraviṣhtāmuttarāyanē,
 Aślēhān dacschinē'prāptaṣṭadāvidyānmahadbhayan.

“ WHEN the *sun* returns, not having reached
 “ *Dhanisht'ba* in the northern solstice, or not hav-
 “ ing reached *Aślēṣhā* in the southern, then
 “ let a *man* feel great apprehension of danger.”

PARA'SARA himself entertained a similar opinion, that any irregularity in the solstices would indicate approaching calamity ; *Yadāprāptō vaiṣṇavāntam*, says he, *udanmārgē prepadyatē, dacschinē, aślēṣhām vā mahāb hayaya*, that is,
 “ When having reached the end of *Srāvanā*,
 in

“ in the northern path, or half of *Aślēṣhà* in
 “ the southern, he still advances, *it is a cause*
 “ of great fear.” This notion possibly had its
 rise before the regular precession of the cardinal
 points had been observed ; but we may also
 remark, that some of the lunar mansions were
 considered as inauspicious, and others as fortunate :
 thus MENU, the first *Indian* lawgiver, ordains,
 that certain rites shall be performed under the
 influence of a happy *Nakṣatra* ; and where he
 forbids any female name to be taken from a
 constellation, the most learned commentator
 gives *Aṛdra* and *Révatī* as examples of ill-omened
 names, appearing by design to skip over others
 that must first have occurred to him. Whether
Dhanīṣṭhà and *Aślēṣhà* were inauspicious or
 prosperous I have not learned ; but, whatever
 might be the ground of VARA’HA’S astrological
 rule, we may collect from his astronomy, which
 was grounded on observation, that the solstice
 had receded *at least* $23^{\circ}.20'$ between his
 time and that of PARASARA ; for though he
 refers its position to the *signs*, instead of the
lunar mansions, yet all the *Pandits* with whom
 I have conversed on the subject, unanimously
 assert, that the first degrees of *Mēṣha* and
Aświnī are coincident. Since the two ancient
 sages name only the lunar asterisms, it is
 probable, that the solar division of the zodiac
 into twelve signs was not generally used in their

days ; and we know, from the comment on the *Sūrya Siddhānta*, that the lunar month, by which all religious ceremonies are still regulated, was in use before the solar. When M. BAILLY asks, “ Why the *Hindus* established the beginning of the precession, according to their ideas of it, in the year of CHRIST 499 ?” to which his calculations also had led him, we answer, Because *in that year* the vernal equinox was found by observation in the origin of their ecliptick ; and since they were of opinion, that it must have had the same position in the first year of the *Caliyuga*, they were induced by their erroneous theory to fix the beginning of their fourth period 3600 years before the time of VARA’HA, and to account for PARA’SARA’S observation by supposing an *utpāta*, or *prodigy*.

To what purpose, it may be asked, have we ascertained the age of the *Munis* ? Who was PARA’SARA ? Who was GARGA ? With whom were they contemporary, or with whose age may their’s be compared ? What light will these inquiries throw on the history of *India* or of mankind ? I am happy in being able to answer those questions with confidence and precision.

ALL the *Bráhmens* agree, that only one PARA’SARA is named in their sacred records ; that he composed the astronomical book before cited, and a law tract, which is now in my possession ;
that

that he was the grandson of VASISHT'HA, another astronomer and legislator, whose works are still extant, and who was the preceptor of RA'MA, king of *Ayódhya*; that he was the father of VYA'SA, by whom the *Védas* were arranged in the form which they now bear, and whom CRISHNA himself names with exalted praise in the *Gîtà*; so that, by the admission of the *Pandits* themselves, we find only three generations between two of the RA'MAS, whom they consider as incarnate *portions* of the divinity; and PARA'SARA might have lived till the beginning of the *Cáliyuga*, which the mistaken doctrine of an oscillation in the cardinal points has compelled the *Hindus* to place 1920 years too early. This error, added to their fanciful arrangement of the four ages, has been the source of many absurdities; for they insist, that VA'LMIC, whom they cannot but allow to have been contemporary with RA'MACHANDRA, lived in the age of VYA'SA, who consulted him on the composition of the *Mahábhárat*, and who was personally known to BALARA'MA, the brother of CRISHNA. When a very learned *Bráhmén* had repeated to me an agreeable story of a conversation between VA'LMIC and VYA'SA, I expressed my surprize at an interview between two bards, whose ages were separated by a period of 864,000 years; but he

soon reconciled himself to so monstrous an anachronism, by observing, that the longevity of the *Munis* was preternatural, and that no limit could be set to divine power. By the same recourse to miracles or to prophecy, he would have answered another objection equally fatal to his chronological system: it is agreed by all, that the lawyer YA'GYAWALCYA was an attendant on the court of JANACA, whose daughter SI'TA' was the constant, but unfortunate wife of the great RA'MA, the hero of VA'LMIC's poem; but that lawyer himself, at the very opening of his work, which now lies before me, names both PARA'SARA and VYA'SA among twenty authors, whose tracts form the body of original *Indian* law. By the way, since VASISHT'HA is more than once named in the *Mānavīsanhitā*, we may be certain, that the laws ascribed to MENU, in whatever age they might have been first promulgated, could not have received the form in which we now see them above *three thousand* years ago.

THE age and functions of GARGA lead to consequences yet more interesting: he was confessedly the *purōhita*, or officiating priest, of CRISHNA himself, who, when only a herdsman's boy at *Mat'burā*, revealed his divine character to GARGA, by running to him with more than mortal benignity on his countenance, when the priest had invoked NA'RA'YAN. His daughter
was

was eminent for her piety and her learning, and the *Bráhmans* admit, without considering the consequence of their admission, that she is thus addressed in the *Veda* itself : *Yata úrdhwan nò vâ samópi, GA'RGI, ésha ádityò dyámúrdhànan tapati, dyà vâ bhúmin tapati, bhúmyà subhvan tapati, lócàn tapati, antaran tapatyanantaran tapati* ; or, “ That Sun, O daughter of GARGA, “ than which nothing is higher, to which nothing is equal, enlightens the summit of the “ sky ; with the sky enlightens the earth ; “ with the earth enlightens the lower worlds ; “ enlightens the higher worlds ; enlightens “ other worlds ; it enlightens the breast, “ enlightens all besides the breast.” From these facts, which the *Bráhmans* cannot deny, and from these concessions, which they unanimously make, we may reasonably infer, that if VYA'SA was not the composer of the *Védas*, he added at least something of his own to the scattered fragments of a more ancient work, or perhaps to the loose traditions which he had collected ; but whatever be the comparative antiquity of the *Hindu* scriptures, we may safely conclude, that the *Mosaick* and *Indian* chronologies are perfectly consistent ; that MENU, son of BRAHMA', was the *A'dima*, or *first*, created mortal, and consequently our ADAM ; that MENU, child of the Sun, was preserved with *seven* others, in a *bahitra*, or ca-

pacious ark, from an universal deluge, and must therefore be our NOAH ; that HIRANYACASIPU, the giant *with a golden axe*, and Vali or Bali, were impious and arrogant monarchs, and, most probably, our NIMROD and BELUS ; that the three RA'MAS, two of whom were invincible warriors, and the third, not only valiant in war, but the patron of agriculture and *wine*, which derives an epithet from his name, were different representations of the *Grecian Bacchus*, and either the RA'MA of scripture, or his colony personified, or the Sun, first adored by his idolatrous family ; that a considerable emigration from *Chaldea* into *Greece*, *Italy*, and *India*, happened about *twelve* centuries before the birth of Our Saviour ; that SA'CYA, or SI'SAK, about two hundred years after VYA'SA, either in person or by a colony from *Egypt* imported into this country the mild heresy of the ancient *Bauddhas* ; and that the dawn of true *Indian* history appears only three or four centuries before the *Christian* era, the preceding ages being clouded by allegory or fable.

As a specimen of that fabling and allegorizing spirit which has ever induced the *Bráhmens* to disguise their whole system of history, philosophy, and religion, I produce a passage from the *Bhágavat*, which, however strange and ridiculous, is very curious in itself, and closely connected with the subject of this Essay :

it

it is taken from the fifth *Scandha*, or Section, which is written in modulated prose. “ There
 “ are some,” says the *Indian* author, “ who, for
 “ the purpose of meditating intensely on the
 “ holy son of VASUDE’VA, imagine yon ce-
 “ lestial sphere to represent the figure of that
 “ aquatick animal which we call *Sis’umára*; its
 “ head being turned downwards, and its body
 “ bent in a circle, they conceive *Dhruva*, or
 “ the pole star, to be fixed on the point of its
 “ tail; on the middle part of the tail they see
 “ four stars, *Prejápati*, *Agni*, *Indra*, *Dherma*,
 “ and on its base two others, *Dhátri* and *Vid-
 “ hátri*: on its rump are the *Septarshis*, or
 “ seven stars of the *Sacata*, or *Wain*; on its
 “ back the path of the Sun, called *Ajavít’hì*, or
 “ the *Series of Kids*; on its belly the *Gangà* of
 “ the sky: *Punarvasu* and *Pushya* gleam re-
 “ spectively on its right and left haunches;
 “ *Árdrà* and *Áshlèshà* on its right and left feet or
 “ fins; *Abhijit* and *Uttaràshád’hà* in its right
 “ and left nostrils; *Sravanà* and *Purváshád’hà*
 “ in its right and left eyes; *Dhanisht’hà* and
 “ *Múla* on its right and left ears. Eight con-
 “ stellations, belonging to the summer Solstice,
 “ *Maghá*, *Purvaphalgunì*, *Uttarap’halgunì*, *Haf-
 “ ta*, *Chitrà*, *Swatì*, *Visàc’hà*, *Anurádhà*,
 “ may be conceived in the ribs of its left side;
 “ and as many asterisms, connected with the

“ winter Solstice, *Mrigasiras*, *Rôhinî*, *Crittica*,
 “ *Bharanî*, *Ashwinî*, *Révatî*, *Uttarabhadrapadâ*,
 “ *Pûrvabhadrapadâ*, may be imagined on the
 “ ribs of its right side in an inverse order : let
 “ *Satabhiskâ* and *Jyêshthâ* be placed on its right
 “ and left shoulders. In its upper jaw is
 “ *Agastya*, in its lower *Yama* ; in its mouth the
 “ planet *Mangala* ; in its part of generation,
 “ *Sanaischara* ; on its hump, *Vrihaspati* ; in
 “ its breast, the Sun ; in its heart, *Nârâyan* ;
 “ in its front, the Moon ; in its navel, *Usanas* ;
 “ on its two nipples, the two *Ashwinas* ; in its
 “ ascending and descending breaths, *Budha* ;
 “ on its throat, *Râhu* ; in all its limbs, *Cétus*,
 “ or comets ; and in its hairs, or bristles, the
 “ whole multitude of Stars.”

It is necessary to remark, that, although the *sisumâra* be generally described as the *sea-hog* or *porpoise*, which we frequently have seen playing in the *Ganges*, yet *sisumâr*, which seems derived from the *Sanscrit*, means in *Persian* a large lizard : the passage just exhibited may nevertheless relate to an animal of the cetaceous order, and possibly to the dolphin of the ancients.

BEFORE I leave the sphere of the *Hindus*, I cannot help mentioning a singular fact : in the *Sanscrit* language, *Ricsha* means a *constellation* and a *bear*, so that *Maharicsha* may denote either a *great bear*, or a *great asterism*. Etymologists

logists may, perhaps, derive the *Megas Arctos* of the *Greeks* from an *Indian* compound ill understood; but I will only observe, with the wild *American*, that a bear *with a very long tail* could never have occurred to the imagination of any one who had seen the animal. I may be permitted to add, on the subject of the *Indian Zodiack*, that, if I have erred in a former Essay, where the longitude of the lunar mansions is computed from the first star in our constellation of the Ram, I have been led into error by the very learned and ingenious M. BAILLY, who relied, I presume, on the authority of M. LE GENTIL: the origin of the *Hindu Zodiack*, according to the *Sûrya Siddhânta*, must be nearly γ 19° . $21'$. $54''$. in our sphere, and the longitude of *Chitrâ*, or the Spike, must of course be 199° . $21'$. $54''$. from the vernal equinox; but, since it is difficult by that computation to arrange the twenty-seven mansions and their several stars, as they are delineated and enumerated in the *Retnamâlâ*, I must for the present suppose, with M. BAILLY, that the *Zodiack* of the *Hindus* had two origins, one constant and the other variable; and a farther inquiry into the subject must be reserved for a season of retirement and leisure.

DISSERTATION XI.

ON THE

INDIAN GAME OF CHESS.

IF evidence be required to prove that Chess was invented by the *Hindus*, we may be satisfied with the testimony of the *Persians*; who, though as much inclined as other nations to appropriate the ingenious inventions of a foreign people, unanimously agree, that the game was imported from the west of *India*, together with the charming fables of VISHNUSARMAN, in the sixth century of our era. It seems to have been immemorially known in *Hindustan* by the name of *Chaturanga*, that is, the four *anga's*, or *members*, of an army, which are said in the *Amaracósha* to be *hastyaswarat'hapádátam*, or *elephants, horses, chariots, and foot-soldiers*; and in this sense the word is frequently used by

by Epick poets in their descriptions of real armies. By a natural corruption of the pure *Sanscrit* word, it was changed by the old *Persians* into *Chatrang*; but the *Arabs*, who soon after took possession of their country, had neither the initial nor final letter of that word in their alphabet, and consequently altered it further into *Sbatranj*, which found its way presently into the modern *Persian*, and at length into the dialects of *India*, where the true derivation of the name is known only to the learned. Thus has a very significant word in the sacred language of the *Bráhmans* been transformed by successive changes into *axedrez*, *scacchi*, *échecs*, *chefs*, and, by a whimsical concurrence of circumstances, given birth to the *English* word *check*, and even a name to the *Exchequer* of *Great Britain*. The beautiful simplicity and extreme perfection of the game, as it is commonly played in *Europe* and *Asia*, convince me, that it was invented by one effort of some great genius; not completed by gradual improvements, but formed, to use the phrase of *Italian* criticks, *by the first intention*: yet of this simple game, so exquisitely contrived, and so certainly invented in *India*, I cannot find any account in the classical writings of the *Bráhmans*. It is, indeed, confidently asserted, that *Sanscrit* books on Chess exist in
this

this country, and, if they can be procured at *Banâres*, they will assuredly be sent to us: at present I can only exhibit a description of a very ancient *Indian* game of the same kind; but more complex, and, in my opinion, more modern, than the simple Chess of the *Persians*. This game is also called *Chaturanga*, but more frequently *Chatûrâjî*, or the *four Kings*, since it is played by four persons representing as many princes, two allied armies combating on each side: the description is taken from the *Bhâwiskya Purân*, in which YUDHISHT'HIR is represented conversing with VYA'SA, who explains at the king's request the form of the fictitious warfare, and the principal rules of it: "Having marked *eight* squares on all sides," says the Sage, "place the *red* army to the east, the *green* to the south, the *yellow* to the west, "and the *black* to the north: let the *elephant* "stand on the left of the *king*; next to him the "horse; then the *boat*; and, before them all, "four *foot-soldiers*; but the *boat* must be placed "in the *angle* of the board." From this passage it clearly appears, that an army, with its four *anga's*, must be placed on each side of the board, since an *elephant* could not stand, in any other position, on the *left* hand of each *king*; and RA'DHA'CA'NT informed me, that the board consisted, like ours, of *sixty-four* squares,

squares, half of them occupied by the forces, and half vacant: he added, that this game is mentioned in the oldest law-books, and that it was invented by the wife of RA'VAN, King of *Lancà*, in order to amuse him with an image of war, while his metropolis was closely besieged by RA'MA in the second age of the world. He had not heard the story told by FIRDAUSI near the close of the *Sháhnámah*, and it was probably carried into *Persia* from *Cányacuvja* by BORZU, the favourite physician, thence called *Vaidya-priya*, of the great ANU'SHIRAVA'N; but he said, that the *Bráhmans* of *Gaur*, or *Bengal*, were once celebrated for superior skill in the game, and that his father, together with his spiritual preceptor, JAGANNA'T'H, now living at *Tribéni*, had instructed two young *Bráhmans* in all the rules of it, and had sent them to *Jayanagar* at the request of the late *Rájà*, who had liberally rewarded them. A ship, or boat, is substituted, we see, in this complex game for the *rat'h*, or armed chariot, which the *Bengalese* pronounce *rot'h*, and which the *Persians* changed into *rokh*, whence came the *rook* of some *European* nations; as the *vierge* and *fol* of the *French* are supposed to be corruptions of *ferz* and *fil*, the *prime minister* and *elephant* of the *Persians* and *Arabs*. It were vain to seek an etymology of the word *rook* in the modern *Persian*

fiar language; for, in all the passages extracted from FIRDAUSI and JA'MI, where *rokh* is conceived to mean a *hero*, or a *fabulous bird*, it signifies, I believe, no more than a *cheek* or a *face*: as in the following description of a procession in *Egypt*: “ when a thousand youths,
 “ like cypresses, box-trees, and firs, with locks
 “ as fragrant, cheeks as fair, and bosoms as
 “ delicate, as lilies of the valley, were march-
 “ ing gracefully along, thou wouldst have said,
 “ that the new spring was *turning his face*
 “ (not as HYDE translates the words, *carried*
 “ *on rokhs*) from station to station;” and, as to the battle of the *duwázdeh rokh*, which D'HERBELOT supposes to mean *douze preux chevaliers*, I am strongly inclined to think, that the phrase only signifies a combat of *twelve persons face to face*, or six on a side, I cannot agree with my friend RA'DHA'CA'NT, that a *ship* is properly introduced in this imaginary warfare instead of a *chariot*, in which the old *Indian* warriors constantly fought; for though the *king* might be supposed to sit in a *car*, so that the four *anga's* would be complete, and though it may often be necessary in a real campaign to pass rivers or lakes, yet no river is marked on the *Indian*, as it is on the *Chinese* chess-board, and the intermixture of ships with horses, elephants, and infantry embattled on a plain, is
 an

an absurdity not to be defended. The use of *dice* may, perhaps, be justified in a representation of war, in which *fortune* has unquestionably a great share, but it seems to exclude Chefs from the rank which has been assigned to it among the sciences, and to give the game before us the appearance of *whist*, except that pieces are used openly, instead of cards which are held concealed: nevertheless we find, that the moves in the game described by VYA'SA were to a certain degree regulated by *chance*; for he proceeds to tell his royal pupil, that “ if
 “ *cinque* be thrown, the *king* or a *pawn* must
 “ be moved; if *quatre*, the *elephant*; if *trois*,
 “ the *horse*; and if *deux*, the *boat*.”

He then proceeds to the moves: “ the *king*
 “ passes freely on all sides but over *one* square
 “ only; and with the same limitation the
 “ *pawn* moves, but he advances straight forward, and kills his enemy through an angle;
 “ the *elephant* marches in all directions, as far
 “ as his driver pleases; the *horse* runs obliquely
 “ traversing three squares; and the *ship* goes
 “ over two squares diagonally.” The *elephant*, we find, has the powers of our *queen*, as we are pleased to call the *minister*, or *general*, of the *Persians*; and the *ship* has the motion of the piece to which we give the unaccountable appellation of *bishop*, but with a restriction which must greatly lessen his value.

THE

THE bard next exhibits a few general rules and superficial directions for the conduct of the game: "the *pawns* and the *ship* both kill and " may be voluntarily killed; while the *king*, " the *elephant*, and the *horse* may slay the foe, " but cannot expose themselves to be slain. " Let each player preserve his own forces with " extreme care, securing his *king* above all, " and not sacrificing a superior, to keep an inferior, piece." Here the commentator on the *Purán* observes, that the *horse*, who has the choice of *eight* moves from any central position, must be preferred to the *ship*, who has only the choice of *four*; but this argument would not have equal weight in the common game, where the *bishop* and *tower* command a whole line, and where a *knight* is always of less value than a *tower* in action, or the *bishop* of that side on which the attack is begun. " It is by " the overbearing power of the *elephant*, that " the *king* fights boldly; let the whole army, " therefore, be abandoned, in order to secure " the *elephant*: the *king* must never place one " *elephant* before another, according to the rule " of GO'TAMA, unless he be compelled by want " of room, for he would thus commit a dangerous fault; and if he can slay one of two " hostile *elephants*, he must destroy that on his " left hand." The last rule is extremely obscure;

scure ; but, as Go'TAMA was an illustrious lawyer and philosopher, he would not have condescended to leave directions for the game of *Chaturanga*, if it had not been held in great estimation by the ancient Sages of *India*.

ALL that remains of the passage, which was copied for me by RA'DHA'CA'NT and explained by him, relates to the several modes in which a partial success or complete victory may be obtained by any one of the four players ; for we shall see, that, as if a dispute had arisen between two allies, one of the *kings* may assume the command of all the forces, and aim at separate conquest. First ; “ When any one *king* has
 “ placed himself on the square of another *king*,
 “ which advantage is called *Sinhāsana*, or the
 “ *throne*, he wins a stake ; which is doubled,
 “ if he kill the adverse monarch, when he
 “ seizes his place ; and, if he can seat him-
 “ self on the throne of his ally, he takes the
 “ command of the whole army.” Secondly ; “ If he can occupy successively the
 “ thrones of all the three princes, he obtains
 “ the victory, which is named *Chaturāji*, and
 “ the stake is doubled, if he kill the last of the
 “ three, just before he takes possession of his
 “ throne, but if he kill him on his throne,
 “ the stake is quadrupled.” Thus, as the commentator remarks, in a real warfare, a king

may be considered as victorious, when he seizes the metropolis of his adversary; but if he can destroy his foe, he displays greater heroism, and relieves his people from any further solicitude.

“ Both in gaining the *Sinhāsana* and the *Chaturājī*, says VYA'SA, the king must be supported by the *elephants* or by all the forces united.” Thirdly; “ When one player has his own king on the board, but the king of his partner has been taken, he may replace his captive ally, if he can seize both the adverse kings; or, if he cannot effect their capture, he may exchange his king for one of them, against the general rule, and thus redeem the allied prince, who will supply his place.” This advantage has the name of *Nripācrishta*, or, *recovered by the king*; and the *Naucācrishta* seems to be analogous to it, but confined to the case of *ships*. Fourthly; “ If a *pawn* can march to any square on the opposite extremity of the board, except that of the king, or that of the ship, he assumes whatever power belonged to that square; and this promotion is called *Shatpada*, or the *six strides*.” Here we find the rule, with a singular exception, concerning the advancement of *pawns*, which often occasions a most interesting struggle at our common chess, and which has furnished the poets and moralists

moralists of *Arabia* and *Persia* with many lively reflections on human life. It appears, that
 “ this privilege of *Sbat'pada* was not allowable,
 “ in the opinion of Go'TAMA, when a player
 “ had three *pawns* on the board ; but, when
 “ only one *pawn* and one *ship* remained, the
 “ *pawn* might advance even to the square of a
 “ *king* or a *ship*, and assume the power of
 “ either.” Fifthly ; “ According to the *Râc-*
 “ *shasa's*, or *giants* (that is, the people of
 “ *Lancà*, where the game was invented), there
 “ could be neither victory nor defeat, if a *king*
 “ were left on the plain without force : a
 “ situation which they named *Câcacâsh't'ha*.”
 Sixthly ; “ If three *ships* happen to meet, and the
 “ fourth *ship* can be brought up to them in the
 “ remaining angle, this has the name of *Vrihan-*
 “ *naucà* ; and the player of the fourth seizes all
 “ the others.” Two or three of the remaining
 couplets are so dark, either from an error in the
 manuscript or from the antiquity of the lan-
 guage, that I could not understand the *Pan-*
dit's explanation of them, and suspect that they
 gave even him very indistinct ideas ; but it
 would be easy, if it were worth while, to play
 at the game by the preceding rules ; and a little
 practice would, perhaps, make the whole in-
 telligible. One circumstance, in this extract
 from the *Purân*, seems very surprizing : all

games of hazard are positively forbidden by MĒNU, yet the game of *Chaturanga*, in which dice are used, is taught by the great VYA'SA himself, whose law-tract appears with that of GO'TAMA among the eighteen books which form the *Dhermasāstra*; but as RA'DHA'CA'NT and his preceptor JAGANNA'T'H are both employed by Government in compiling a Digest of *Indian* laws, and as both of them, especially the venerable Sage of *Tribēni*, understand the game, they are able, I presume, to assign reasons, why it should have been excepted from the general prohibition, and even openly taught by ancient and modern *Bráhmans*.

DISSERTATION XII.

ON THE

SECOND CLASSICAL BOOK

OF THE

CHINESE.

THE vicinity of *China* to our *Indian* territories, from the capital of which there are not more than *six hundred miles* to the province of YU'NA'N, must necessarily draw our attention to that most ancient and wonderful Empire, even if we had no commercial intercourse with its more distant and maritime provinces; and the benefits that might be derived from a more intimate connexion with a nation long famed for their useful arts and for the valuable productions of their country, are too apparent to require any proof or illustration. My own inclinations and the course of my studies lead me rather to consider at present their *laws*, *politicks*, and *morals*, with which their general literature is closely blended, than

their manufactures and trade; nor will I spare either pains or expence to procure translations of their most approved *law-tracts*, that I may return to *Europe* with distinct ideas, drawn from the fountain-head, of the wisest *Asiatick* legislation. It will probably be a long time before accurate returns can be made to my inquiries concerning the *Chinese Laws*; and, in the interval, the Society will not, perhaps, be displeased to know, that a translation of a most venerable and excellent work may be expected from *Canton* through the kind assistance of an inestimable correspondent.

ACCORDING to a *Chinese* Writer, named LI YANG PING, ‘ the ancient characters used in
 ‘ his country were the outlines of visible ob-
 ‘ jects earthly and celestial; but, as things
 ‘ merely intellectual could not be expressed by
 ‘ those figures, the grammarians of *China*
 ‘ contrived to represent the various operations
 ‘ of the mind by metaphors drawn from the
 ‘ productions of nature: thus the idea of
 ‘ roughness and of rotundity, of motion and
 ‘ rest, were conveyed to the eye by signs re-
 ‘ presenting a mountain, the sky, a river and
 ‘ the earth; the figures of the sun, the moon,
 ‘ and the stars, differently combined, stood for
 ‘ smoothness and splendour, for any thing art-
 ‘ fully wrought, or woven with delicate work-
 ‘ manship;

‘ manſhip; extension, growth, increaſe, and
 ‘ many other qualities, were painted in cha-
 ‘ racters taken from clouds, from the firma-
 ‘ ment, and from the vegetable part of the
 ‘ creation; the different ways of moving, agi-
 ‘ lity and ſlowneſs, idleneſs and diligence,
 ‘ were expreſſed by various insects, birds, fiſh,
 ‘ and quadrupeds: in this manner paſſions
 ‘ and ſentiments were traced by the pencil,
 ‘ and ideas not ſubject to any ſenſe were exhi-
 ‘ bited to the ſight; until by degrees new com-
 ‘ binations were invented, new expreſſions ad-
 ‘ ded; the characters deviated imperceptibly
 ‘ from their primitive ſhape, and the *Chi-neſe*
 ‘ language became not only clear and forcible,
 ‘ but rich and elegant in the higheſt degree.’

IN this language, ſo ancient and ſo wonder-
 fully compoſed, are a multitude of books
 abounding in uſeful, as well as agreeable, know-
 ledge; but the higheſt claſs conſiſts of *Five*
 works; one of which, at leaſt, every *Chi-neſe*
 who aſpires to literary honours muſt read
 again and again, until he poſſeſs it perfectly.

THE *fiſt* is purely *Hiſtorical*, containing annals
 of the Empire from the *two thouſand-three hun-*
dred-thirty ſeventh year before CHRIST: it is
 entitled SHI' KING, and a verſion of it has been
 publiſhed in *France*; to which country we are
 indebted for the moſt authentick and moſt valu-

able specimens of *Chinese* History and Literature, from the compositions which preceded those of HOMER, to the poetical works of the present Emperor, who seems to be a man of the brightest genius and the most amiable affections. We may smile, if we please, at the levity of the *French*, as they laugh without scruple at our seriousness; but let us not so far undervalue our rivals in arts and in arms, as to deny them their just commendation, or to relax our efforts in that noble struggle, by which alone we can preserve our own eminence.

THE Second Classical work of the *Chinese* contains *three hundred* Odes, or short Poems, in praise of ancient sovereigns and legislators, or descriptive of ancient manners, and recommending an imitation of them in the discharge of all publick and domestick duties: they abound in wise maxims, and excellent precepts, 'their whole doctrine, according to *Cun-fu-tsu*, 'in the LU'NYU' or *Moral Discourses*, being 'reducible to this grand rule, that we should 'not even entertain a thought of any thing 'base or culpable;' but the copies of the SHI' KING, for that is the title of the book, are supposed to have been much disfigured, since the time of that great Philosopher, by spurious passages and exceptionable interpolations; and the style of the Poems is in some parts

parts too metaphorical, while the brevity of other parts renders them obscure; though many think even this obscurity sublime and venerable, like that of ancient cloysters and temples, ‘*shedding*, as MILTON expresses it, a ‘*dim religious light*.’ There is another passage in the LU’NYU’, which deserves to be set down at length: ‘Why, my sons, do you not ‘study the book of Odes? If we creep on ‘the ground, if we lie useless and inglorious, ‘those poems will raise us to true glory: in ‘them we see, as in a mirror, what may best ‘become us, and what will be unbecoming: ‘by their influence we shall be made social, ‘affable, benevolent; for, as musick combines ‘sounds in just melody, so the ancient poetry ‘tempers and composes our passions: the Odes ‘teach us our duty to our parents at home, ‘and abroad to our prince; they instruct us ‘also delightfully in the various productions of ‘nature.’ ‘Hast thou studied, said the Philosopher to his son PEYU, the first of the ‘three hundred Odes on the nuptials of Prince ‘VE’NVA’M and the virtuous TAI SU? He ‘who studies them not, resembles a man with ‘his face against a wall, unable to advance a ‘step in virtue and wisdom.’ Most of those Odes are near *three thousand* years old, and some, if we give credit to the *Chinese* annals, considerably

considerably older; but others are somewhat more recent, having been composed under the later Emperors of the *third* family, called SHEU. The work is printed in *four* volumes; and, towards the end of the *first*, we find the Ode, which COUPLET has accurately translated at the beginning of the TA'HIO, or *Great Science*, where it is finely amplified by the Philosopher; I produce the original from the SHI' KING itself, and from the book, in which it is cited, together with a double version, one verbal and another metrical; the only method of doing justice to the poetical compositions of the *Asiatics*. It is a panegyrick on VUCU'N, Prince of Guey in the province of Honang, who died, near a century old, in the *thirteenth* year of the Emperor PINGVANG, *seven hundred and fifty-six* years before the birth of CHRIST, or *one hundred und forty-eight*, according to Sir ISAAC NEWTON, after the taking of *Troy*; so that the *Chinese* Poet might have been contemporary with HESIOD and HOMER, or at least must have written the Ode before the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* were carried into *Greece* by LYCURGUS.

THE verbal translation of the thirty-two original characters is this:

¹ Behold ² yon ⁴ reach of *the river* ³ KI;

⁵ Its green ⁶ reeds how ⁷ luxuriant! how ³ luxuriant!

Thus

- ⁹ ¹¹⁻¹² ¹⁰
 † Thus is our Prince adorned with virtues;
¹³ ¹⁴ ¹⁵ ¹⁶
 † As a carver, as a filer, of ivory,
¹⁷ ¹⁸ ¹⁹ ²⁰
 † As a cutter as a polisher, of gems.
²¹ ²²
 † O how elate and sagacious ! O how dauntless and composed !
²³ ²⁴
 † How worthy of fame ! How worthy of reverence !
²⁵ ²⁷⁻²⁸ ²⁶
 † We have a Prince adorned with virtues,
²⁹ ³⁰ ³¹ ³²
 † Whom to the end of *time* we can not forget.'

THE PARAPHRASE.

Behold, where yon blue riv'let glides
 Along the laughing dale ;
 Light reeds bedeck its verdant sides,
 And frolick in the gale :

So shines our Prince ! In bright array
 The Virtues round him wait ;
 And sweetly smile th' auspicious day,
 That rais'd Him o'er our State.

As pliant hands in shapes refin'd
 Rich iv'ry carve and smoothe,
 His *Laws* thus mould each ductile mind,
 And every passion soothe.

As gems are taught by patient art
 In sparkling ranks to beam,
 With *Manners* thus he forms the heart,
 And spreads a gen'ral gleam.

What soft, yet awful dignity !
 What meek, yet manly, grace !
 What sweetness dances in his eye,
 And blossoms in his face !

So shines our Prince ! A sky-born crowd
 Of Virtues round him blaze :
 Ne'er shall Oblivion's murky cloud
 Obscure his deathless praise.

THE prediction of the Poet has hitherto been accomplished ; but he little imagined, that his composition would be admired, and his Prince celebrated in a language not then formed, and by the natives of regions so remote from his own.

IN the *tenth* leaf of the TA' HIO a beautiful comparison is quoted from another Ode in the SHI' KING, which deserves to be exhibited in the same form with the preceding :

¹ ' The peach-tree, how ² fair ! how ³ graceful !
⁴ ' Its ⁵ leaves, how ⁶ blooming ! how ⁷ pleasant !
⁸ ' Such is a ⁹ bride, when she ¹⁰ enters her ¹¹ bridegroom's house,
¹² ' And ¹³ pays ¹⁴ due attention to her ¹⁵ whole family.'

The simile may thus be rendered :

Gay child of Spring, the garden's queen,
 Yon peach-tree charms the roving sight :
 Its fragrant leaves how richly green !
 Its blossoms how divinely bright !

So softly smiles the blooming bride
 By love and conscious Virtue led
 O'er her new mansion to preside,
 And placid joys around her spread.

THE next leaf exhibits a comparison of a different nature, rather sublime than agreeable, and conveying rather censure than praise :

¹ O how horridly impends ² yon ³ southern ⁴ mountain !

⁵ Its rocks in how vast, ⁶ ⁷ how rude a heap !

⁹ Thus loftily thou sittest, ¹⁰ O ¹¹ minister of ¹² YN ;

¹⁴ All the ¹³ people look up to thee with dread. ¹⁵ ¹⁶

Which may be thus paraphrased :

See, where yon crag's imperious height

The funny highland crowns,

And, hideous as the brow of night,

Above the torrent frowns !

So scowls the Chief, whose will is law,

Regardless of our state ;

While millions gaze with painful awe,

With fear allied to hate.

It was a very ancient practice in *China* to paint or engrave moral sentences and approved verses on vessels in constant use ; as the words RENEW THYSELF DAILY were inscribed on the basin of the Emperor TANG, and the poem of KIEN LONG, who is now on the throne, in praise of tea, has been published on a set of porcelain cups ; and, if the description just cited of a selfish and insolent statesman were, in the same manner, constantly presented to the eyes and attention of rulers, it might produce some benefit

benefit to their subjects and to themselves ; especially if the comment of TSEM TSU, who may be called the XENOPHON, as CUN FU' TSU' was the SOCRATES, and MEM TSU the PLATO, of *China*, were added to illustrate and enforce it.

IF the rest of the *three hundred* Odes be similar to the specimens adduced by those great moralists in their works, which the *French* have made publick, I should be very solicitous to procure our nation the honour of bringing to light the *second* classical book of the *Chinese*. The *third*, called YEKING, or the book of Changes, believed to have been written by Fo, the HERMES of the East, and consisting of right lines variously disposed, is hardly intelligible to the most learned *Mandarins* ; and CUN FU' TSU' himself, who was prevented by death from accomplishing his design of elucidating it, was dissatisfied with all the interpretations of the earliest commentators. As to the *fifth*, or LIKI, which that excellent man compiled from old monuments, it consists chiefly of the *Chinese* ritual, and of tracts on Moral Duties ; but the *fourth*, entitled CHUNG CIEU, or *Spring and Autumn*, by which the same incomparable writer meant the *flourishing* state of an Empire under a virtuous monarch, and the *fall* of kingdoms

doms under bad governors, must be an interesting work in every nation. The powers, however, of an individual are so limited, and the field of knowledge is so vast, that I dare not promise more, than to procure, if any exertions of mine will avail, a complete translation of the SHI' KING, together with an authentick abridgement of the *Chinese* laws, civil and criminal. A native of *Canton*, whom I knew some years ago in *England*, and who passed his first examinations with credit in his way to literary distinctions, but was afterwards allured from the pursuit of learning by a prospect of success in trade, has favoured me with the *Three Hundred Odes* in the original, together with the LU'NYU', a faithful version of which was published at *Paris* near a century ago ; but he seems to think, that it would require three or four years to complete a translation of them ; and Mr. Cox informs me, that none of the *Chinese*, to whom he has access, *possess leisure and perseverance enough for such a task* ; yet he hopes, with the assistance of WHANG ATONG, to send me next season some of the poems translated into *English*. A little encouragement would induce this young *Chinese* to visit *India*, and some of his countrymen would, perhaps, accompany him ; but, though considerable advantage

vantage to the public, as well as to letters, might be reaped from the knowledge and ingenuity of such emigrants, yet we must wait for a time of greater national wealth and prosperity, before such a measure can be formally recommended by us to our patrons at the helm of government.

D I S-

DISSERTATION XIII.

ON THE

ANTIQUITY

OF THE

INDIAN ZODIACK.

I ENGAGE to support an opinion (which the learned and industrious M. MONTUCLA seems to treat with extreme contempt), that the *Indian* division of the Zodiack was not borrowed from the *Greeks* or *Arabs*, but, having been known in this country from time immemorial, and being the same in part with that used by other nations of the old *Hindu* race, was probably invented by the first progenitors of that race before their dispersion. “ The *Indians*, he
 “ says, have two divisions of the Zodiack; one,
 “ like that of the *Arabs*, relating to the moon,
 “ and consisting of *twenty-seven* equal parts, by
 “ which they can tell very nearly the hour of
 “ the night; another relating to the sun, and,
 “ like ours, containing twelve signs, to which
 B b “ they

“ they have given as many names, correspond-
 “ ing with those which we have borrowed
 “ from the *Greeks*.” All that is true ; but he
 adds : “ It is highly probable that they received
 “ them at some time or another by the inter-
 “ vention of the *Arabs* ; for no man, surely,
 “ can persuade himself, that it is the ancient
 “ division of the Zodiack formed, according
 “ to some authors, by the forefathers of man-
 “ kind, and still preserved among the *Hindus*.”

Now I undertake to prove, that the *Indian* Zo-
 diack was not borrowed mediately or directly
 from the *Arabs* or *Greeks* ; and since the solar
 division of it in *India* is the same in substance
 with that used in *Greece*, we may reasonably
 conclude, that both *Greeks* and *Hindus* received
 it from an older nation, who first gave names to
 the luminaries of heaven, and from whom both
Greeks and *Hindus*, as their similarity in lan-
 guage and religion fully evinces, had a common
 descent.

THE same writer afterwards intimates, that
 “ the time when *Indian* Astronomy received
 “ its most considerable improvement, from
 “ which it has now, as he imagines, wholly
 “ declined, was either the age when the
 “ *Arabs*, who established themselves in *Persia*
 “ and *Sogdiana*, had a great intercourse with
 “ the *Hindus*, or that when the successors of

“ CHENGIZ

“ CHENGÍ'Z united both *Arabs* and *Hindus* under one vast dominion.” It is not the object of this essay to correct the historical errors in the passage last cited, nor to defend the astronomers of *India* from the charge of gross ignorance in regard to the figure of the earth and the distances of the heavenly bodies ; a charge, which MONTUCLA very boldly makes on the authority, I believe, of Father SOUCIET : I will only remark, that, in our conversations with the *Pandits*, we must never confound the system of the *Jyautishicas*, or mathematical astronomers, with that of the *Pauránicas*, or poetical fabulists ; for to such a confusion alone must we impute the many mistakes of *Europeans* on the subject of *Indian* science. A venerable mathematician of this province, named RA'MACHANDRA, now in his eightieth year, visited me lately at *Crisbnanagar*, and part of his discourse was so applicable to the inquiries which I was then making, that, as soon as he left me, I committed it to writing. “ The
 “ *Pauránics*, he said, will tell you, that our earth
 “ is a plane figure studded with eight mountains, and surrounded by seven seas of milk,
 “ nectar, and other fluids ; that the part which
 “ we inhabit, is one of seven islands, to which
 “ eleven smaller isles are subordinate ; that a
 “ God, riding on a huge *elephant*, guards each
 “ of the eight regions ; and that a mountain of

“ gold rises and gleams in the centre ; but we
 “ believe the earth to be shaped like a *Cadamba*
 “ fruit, or spheroidal, and admit only four
 “ oceans of salt water, all which we name from
 “ the four cardinal points, and in which are
 “ many great peninsulas with innumerable
 “ islands : they will tell you, that a dragon’s
 “ head swallows the moon, and thus causes an
 “ eclipse ; but we know, that the supposed
 “ head and tail of the dragon mean only the
 “ nodes, or points formed by intersections of the
 “ ecliptick and the moon’s orbit ; in short,
 “ they have imagined a system which exists
 “ only in their fancy ; but we consider nothing
 “ as true without such evidence as cannot be
 “ questioned.” I could not perfectly under-
 stand the old Gymnosophist, when he told me,
 that the *Rásichakra*, or *Circle of Signs* (for so he
 called the Zodiack), was like a *Dhustura* flower ;
 meaning the *Datura*, to which the *San scrit*
 name has been softened, and the flower of
 which is conical, or shaped like a funnel : at first
 I thought, that he alluded to a projection of the
 hemisphere on the plane of the colure, and to
 the angle formed by the ecliptick and equator ;
 but a younger astronomer named VINA’YACA,
 who came afterwards to see me, assured me
 that they meant only the circular mouth of
 the funnel, or the base of the cone, and that it
 was

was usual among their ancient writers to borrow from fruits and flowers their appellations of several plane and solid figures.

FROM the two *Bráhmans* whom I have just named, I learned the following curious particulars ; and you may depend on my accuracy in repeating them, since I wrote them in their presence, and corrected what I had written, till they pronounced it perfect.

THEY divide a great circle, as we do, into three hundred and fixty degrees, called by them *ansas* or portions ; of which they, like us, allot thirty to each of the twelve signs in this order :

<i>Mésba</i> , the Ram.	<i>Tulà</i> , the Balance.
<i>Vrisba</i> , the Bull.	8. <i>Vrisbhica</i> , the Scorpion.
<i>Mit'huna</i> , the Pair.	<i>Dhanus</i> , the Bow.
4. <i>Carcata</i> , the Crab.	<i>Macara</i> , the Sea-Monster.
<i>Sinha</i> , the Lion.	<i>Cumbha</i> , the Ewer.
<i>Ganyà</i> , the Virgin.	12. <i>Mina</i> , the Fish.

THE figures of the twelve asterisms, thus denominated with respect to the sun, are specified by SRÍPETI, author of the *Retnamálà*, in *Sanscrit* verses ; which I produce, as my vouchers, in the original, with a verbal translation :

Méshádayó náma samánarúpi,
Vínágadádhyam mit'hunam nriyugmam,
Pradípasasyé dadhatí carábhyám
Návi st'hítá várini canyacaiva.
Tulá tulábhrit pretimánapánir
Dhanur dhanushmán hayawat parángah,

Mrigānanah syān macaró't'ha cumbhah
 Scandhé neró ričtagha'tam dadhānah,
 Anyanyapuchch'hābhimuc'hó hi mínah
 Matsyadwayam swast'halachárinómì.

“ THE *ram*, *bull*, *crab*, *lion*, and *scorpion*,
 “ have the figures of those five animals respec-
 “ tively : the *pair* are a damsel playing on a
 “ *Vindā* and a youth wielding a mace : the *vir-*
 “ *gin* stands on a boat in water, holding in one
 “ hand a lamp, in the other an ear of ricecorn :
 “ the *balance* is held by a weigher with a
 “ weight in one hand : the *bow*, by an archer,
 “ whose hinder parts are like those of a horse :
 “ the *sea-monster* has the face of an antelope :
 “ the *ewer* is a waterpot borne on the shoulder
 “ of a man, who empties it : the *fish* are two,
 “ with their heads turned to each other's tails ;
 “ and all these are supposed to be in such places
 “ as suit their several natures.”

To each of the *twenty-seven* lunar stations,
 which they call *nasshatras*, they allow thirteen
ansas and one third, or *thirteen degrees twenty*
minutes ; and their names appear in the order of
 the signs, but without any regard to the figures
 of them :

<i>Aswinì.</i>	<i>A'rdrà.</i>	<i>Púrva p'halgunì.</i>
<i>Bharanì.</i>	<i>Punarvasu.</i>	<i>Uttara p'balgunì.</i>
<i>Criticà.</i>	<i>Pushya.</i>	<i>Hafta.</i>
<i>Róhinì.</i>	9. <i>Aslésà.</i>	<i>Chitrà.</i>
<i>Mrigashiras.</i>	<i>Maghà.</i>	<i>Swatì.</i>

Visàc'hà

<i>Viśac'hà.</i>	<i>Púrvashā'dhā.</i>	<i>Satabhiṣhā.</i>
<i>Anurādhā.</i>	<i>Uttarāshādhā.</i>	<i>Púrvā bhadrapadā.</i>
18. <i>Jyēṣṭ'hà</i>	<i>Śravanā.</i>	<i>Uttarabhadrapadā.</i>
<i>Múla.</i>	<i>Dhanishtā.</i>	27. <i>Révati.</i>

BETWEEN the twenty-first and twenty-second constellations, we find in the plate three stars called *Abhijit* ; but they are the last quarter of the asterism immediately preceding, or the latter *Ashar*, as the word is commonly pronounced. A complete revolution of the moon, with respect to the stars, being made in twenty-seven days, odd hours, minutes, and seconds, and perfect exactness being either not attained by the *Hindus*, or not required by them, they fixed on the number twenty-seven, and inserted *Abhijit* for some astrological purpose in their nuptial ceremonies. The drawing, from which the plate was engraved *, seems intended to represent the figures of the twenty-seven constellations, together with *Abhijit*, as they are described in three stanzas by the author of the *Retnamālā* :

1. Turagamuc'hasadricṣham yōnirūpam cshurābham,
Saca'tasamam at'hainasyóttamāngéna tūlyam,
Manigrihasara chacrābhāni sālópamam bham,
Sayanasadrisamānyachchātra paryancarúpam.
2. Haṣṭácārayutam cha mauṭicasamam
chānyat pravālopamam,
Dhrishyam tórana sannibham balinibham,
satcundalābham param ;

* The different compartments of the plate alluded to, are so minutely described in the subsequent page, that it is thought unnecessary to annex it.

Crudhyatcéfarivicraména sadrisam,
 sayyálamánam param,
 Anyad dentiviláfavat ft'hitamatah
 sringátacavyaṭti bham.

3. Trivicramábham cha mridangarúpam,
 Vrittam tatónyadyamalábhwayábham,
 Paryancarúpam murajánucáram,
 Ityévam aswádibhachacrarúpam.

“ A HORSE’S head ; *yóni* or *bhaga* ; a razor ;
 “ a wheeled carriage ; the head of an antelope ;
 “ a gem ; a house ; an arrow ; a wheel ; an-
 “ other house ; a bedstead ; another bedstead ;
 “ a hand ; a pearl ; a piece of coral ; a fes-
 “ toon of leaves ; an oblation to the Gods ; a
 “ rich ear-ring ; the tail of a fierce lion ; a
 “ couch ; the tooth of a wanton elephant,
 “ near which is the kernel of the *sringátaca*
 “ nut ; the three footsteps of VISHNU ; a ta-
 “ bor ; a circular jewel ; a two-faced image ;
 “ another couch ; and a smaller sort of tabor :
 “ such are the figures of *Aswinì* and the rest in
 “ the circle of lunar constellations.”

THE *Hindu* draughtsman has very ill repre-
 sented most of the figures ; and he has trans-
 posed the two *Asháras* as well as the two *Bha-*
drapads ; but his figure of *Abhijit*, which looks
 like our ace of hearts, has a resemblance to the
 kernel of the *trapa*, a curious water-plant de-
 scribed in a separate essay. In another *San-
 scrit* book the figures of the same constellations are
 thus varied :

A horse’s

A horse's head.	A straight tail.	A conch.
<i>Yóni</i> or <i>bhaga</i> .	Two stars S. to N.	A winnowing fan.
A flame.	Two, N. to S.	Another.
A waggon.	A hand.	An arrow.
A cat's paw.	A pearl.	A tabor.
One bright star.	Red saffron.	A circle of stars.
A bow.	A festoon.	A staff for burdens.
A child's pencil.	A snake.	The beam of a balance
9. A dog's tail.	18. A boar's head.	27. A fish.

FROM twelve of the asterisms just enumerated are derived the names of the twelve *Indian* months in the usual form of patronymicks ; for the *Pauránics*, who reduce all nature to a system of emblematical mythology, suppose a celestial nymph to preside over each of the constellations, and feign that the God *So'ma*, or *Lunus*, having wedded twelve of them, became the father of twelve *Genii*, or months, who are named after their several mothers ; but the *Jyautishicas* assert, that, when their lunar year was arranged by former astronomers, the moon was at the full in each month on the very day when it entered the *nacshatra*, from which that month is denominated. The manner in which the derivatives are formed, will best appear by a comparison of the months with their several constellations :

A'swina.

Cártica.

Márgasírsa.

4. Pausha.

Mágha.

P'hálguna.

Chaitra.

Chaitra.	A'shára.
8. Vaifác'ha.	Srávana.
Jyaisht'ha.	12. Bhádra.

THE third month is also called *A'grabáyana* (whence the common word *Agran* is corrupted) from another name of *Mrigasiras*.

NOTHING can be more ingenious than the memorial verses, in which the *Hindus* have a custom of linking together a number of ideas otherwise unconnected, and of chaining, as it were, the memory by a regular measure : thus by putting *teeth* for thirty-two, *Rudra* for eleven, *season* for six, *arrow* or *element* for five, *ocean*, *Véda*, or *age*, for four, RA'MA, *fire*, or *quality*, for three, *eye*, or CUMA'RA, for two, and *earth* or *moon* for one, they have composed four lines, which express the number of stars in each of the twenty-seven asterisms :

Vahni tri ritwishu gunédu critágnibhúta,
 Bánáswinétra sara bhúcu'yugábdhirámáh,
 Rudrábdhirámagunavédasatá dwiyugma,
 Dentá budhairábhihitáh cramasó bhatáráh.

THAT is : “ three, three, six ; five, three,
 “ one ; four, three, five ; five, two, two ;
 “ five, one, one ; four, four, three ; eleven,
 “ four and three ; three, four, a hundred ; two,
 “ two, thirty-two : thus have the stars of the
 “ lunar constellations, in order as they appear,
 “ been numbered by the wise.”

IF the stanza was correctly repeated to me, the *two Asbárás* are considered as one asterism, and *Abhijit* as three separate stars; but I suspect an error in the third line, because *dwibána*, or *two and five*, would suit the metre as well as *bábiráma*; and because there were only three *Véda's* in the early age, when, it is probable, the stars were enumerated and the technical verse composed.

Two lunar stations, or *mansions*, and a quarter are co-extensive, we see, with one sign; and nine stations correspond with four signs: by counting, therefore, thirteen degrees and twenty minutes from the first star in the head of the Ram, inclusively, we find the whole extent of *Aswiní*, and shall be able to ascertain the other stars with sufficient accuracy: but first let us exhibit a comparative table of both *Zodiacks*, denoting the mansions, as in the *Várānes* almanack, by the first letters or syllables of their names:

MONTHS.

MONTHS.	SOLAR ASTERISMS.	MANSIONS.
A'swin	Mésh	$A + bh + \frac{c}{4}$
Cártic	Vriśh	$\frac{3c}{4} + r\bar{o} + \frac{M}{4}$
A'graháyan	Mit'hun	$\frac{M}{2} + \hat{a} + \frac{3^P}{4}$
Paush	Carcát 4.	$\frac{P}{4} + p + sl. 9.$
Mágh	Sinh	$m + PU + \frac{U}{4}$
P'hálgun	Canyà	$\frac{3U}{4} + h + \frac{ch}{2}$
Chaitr	Tulà	$\frac{ch}{2} + s + \frac{3^v}{4}$
Vaiśac'h	Vriśchic 8.	$\frac{v}{4} + a + j 18.$
Jaiśh't'h	Dhan	$mú + p\bar{u} + \frac{u}{4}$
A'shár	Macar	$\frac{3u}{4} + S + \frac{dh}{4}$
Srávan	Cumbh	$\frac{dh}{4} + s + \frac{3^p}{4}$
Bhád'r	Mín 12.	$\frac{p\bar{u}}{4} + u + r. 27.$

HENCE we may readily know the stars in each mansion, as they follow in order :

LUNAR MANSIONS.	SOLAR ASTERISMS.	STARS.
A'swiní.	Ram.	Three, in and near the head.
Bharaní.	—	Three, in the tail.
Criticà,	Bull.	Six, of the Pleiads.
Róhiní.	—	Five, in the head and neck.
Mrigafiras.	Pair.	Three, in or near the feet, perhaps in the Galaxy.
A'rdra.	—	One, on the knee.

LUNAR

LUNAR MANSIONS,	SOLAR ASTERISMS.	STARS.
Punarvasu.	—	{ <i>Four</i> , in the heads, breast, and shoulder.
Pushya.	Crab	<i>Three</i> , in the body and claws,
Aslésà.	Lion	<i>Five</i> , in the face and mane.
Maghà.	—	<i>Five</i> , in the leg and haunch,
Púrvap'halguni.	—	<i>Two</i> ; one in the tail.
Uttarap'halguni.	Virgin	<i>Two</i> , on the arm and zone,
Hafta.	—	<i>Five</i> , near the hand.
Chitrà.	—	<i>One</i> , in the spike.
Swáti.	Balance	<i>One</i> , in the N. Scale.
Visác'hà.	—	<i>Four</i> , beyond it.
Anurádhà.	Scorpion	<i>Four</i> , in the body.
Jyészht'hà.	—	<i>Three</i> , in the tail.
Múla.	Bow	{ <i>Eleven</i> , to the point of the arrow.
Púrváshára.	—	<i>Two</i> , in the leg.
Uttaráshára.	Sea-monster.	<i>Two</i> , in the horn.
Sravanà.	—	<i>Three</i> , in the tail.
Dhanisht'à.	Ewer	<i>Four</i> , in the arm.
Satabhisà.	—	<i>Many</i> , in the stream,
Púrvabhadrapadà.	Fish	<i>Two</i> , in the first fish,
Uttarabhadrapadà.	—	<i>Two</i> , in the cord.
Révati.	—	{ <i>Thirty-two</i> , in the second fish and cord.

WHEREVER the *Indian* drawing differs from the memorial verse in the *Retnamála*, I have preferred the authority of the writer to that of the painter, who has drawn some terrestrial things with so little similitude, that we must not implicitly rely on his representation of objects merely celestial: he seems particularly to have erred in the stars of *Dhanisht'à*.

FOR

For the assistance of those who may be inclined to re-examine the twenty-seven constellations with a chart before them, I subjoin a table of the degrees to which the *naçhatras* extend respectively, from the first star in the asterism of *Aries*, which we now see near the beginning of the sign *Taurus*, as it was placed in the ancient sphere.

N.	D.	M.	N.	D.	M.	N.	D.	M.
I.	13°.	20'.	X.	133°.	20'	XIX.	253°.	20'.
II.	26°.	40'.	XI.	146°.	40'.	XX.	266°.	40'.
III.	40°.	0'.	XII.	160°.	0'.	XXI.	280°.	0'.
IV.	53°.	20'.	XIII.	173°.	20'.	XXII.	293°.	20'.
V.	66°.	40'.	XIV.	186°.	40'.	XXIII.	306°.	40'.
VI.	80°.	0'.	XV.	200°.	0'.	XXIV.	320°.	0'.
VII.	93°.	20'.	XVI.	213°.	20'.	XXV.	333°.	20'.
VIII.	106°.	40'.	XVII.	226°.	40'.	XXVI.	346°.	40'.
IX.	120°.	0'.	XVIII.	240°.	0'.	XXVII.	360°.	0'.

The asterisms of the *first* column are in the signs of *Taurus*, *Gemini*, *Cancer*, *Leo* ; those of the *second*, in *Virgo*, *Libra*, *Scorpio*, *Sagittarius* ; and those of the *third*, in *Capricornus*, *Aquarius*, *Pisces*, *Aries* : we cannot err much, therefore, in any series of *three* constellations ; for, by counting 13° 20' forwards and backwards, we find the spaces occupied by the two extremes, and the intermediate space belongs of course to the middle-most. It is not meant, that the division of the *Hindu* Zodiack into such spaces is exact to a minute, or that *every* star of each asterism must necessarily be found

found in the space to which it belongs; but the computation will be accurate enough for our purpose, and no lunar mansion can be very remote from the path of the moon: how Father SOUCIET could dream, that *Viśac'hà* was in the Northern Crown, I can hardly comprehend; but it surpasses all comprehension, that M. BAILLY should copy his dream, and give reasons to support it; especially as four stars, arranged pretty much like those in the *Indian* figure, present themselves obviously near *the Balance* or *the Scorpion*. I have not the boldness to exhibit the individual stars in each mansion, distinguished in BAYER's method by *Greek* letters; because, though I have little doubt, that the five stars of *Aśléshà*, in the form of a wheel, are $\gamma, \gamma, \zeta, \mu, \epsilon$, of *the Lion*, and those of *Mûla*, $\gamma, \epsilon, \delta, \zeta, \phi, \tau, \sigma, \nu, \alpha, \xi, \pi$, of *the Sagittary*, and though I think many of the others equally clear, yet, where the number of stars in a mansion is less than three, or even than four, it is not easy to fix on them with confidence; and I must wait, until some young *Hindu* astronomer, with a good memory and good eyes, can attend my leisure on serene nights at the proper seasons, to point out in the firmament itself the several stars of all the constellations, for which he can find names in the *Sanſcrit* language: the only stars, except those in the

Zodiack,

Zodiack, that have yet been distinctly named to me, are the *Septarshi*, *Dhruva*, *Arundhati*, *Vishnupad*, *Mátrimandel*, and, in the southern hemisphere, *Agastya*, or *Canopus*. The twenty-seven *Yóga* stars, indeed, have particular names, in the order of the *nacshatras*, to which they belong : and since we learn, that the *Hindus* have determined *the latitude, longitude, and right ascension of each*, it might be useful to exhibit the list of them ; but at present I can only subjoin the names of twenty-seven *Yógas*, or divisions of the *Ecliptick*,

<i>Vishcambha.</i>	<i>Ganda.</i>	<i>Parigha,</i>
<i>Priti.</i>	<i>Vridhhi.</i>	<i>Siva.</i>
<i>Ayushmat.</i>	<i>Dhruva.</i>	<i>Siddha.</i>
<i>Saubhágya.</i>	<i>Vyágháta.</i>	<i>Sádhyá.</i>
<i>Sébhana.</i>	<i>Herbhana.</i>	<i>Subha.</i>
<i>Atiganda.</i>	<i>Vajra.</i>	<i>Sucra.</i>
<i>Sucarman.</i>	<i>Asrij.</i>	<i>Brahman.</i>
<i>Dbriti.</i>	<i>Vyatipáta.</i>	<i>Indra.</i>
<i>Súla.</i>	<i>Variyas.</i>	<i>Vaidbriti.</i>

HAVING shown in what manner the *Hindus* arrange the *Zodiacal* stars with respect to the sun and moon, let us proceed to our principal subject, *the antiquity of that double arrangement*. In the first place, the *Bráhmans* were always too proud to borrow their science from the *Greeks*, *Arabs*, *Moguls*, or any nation of *Mléchch'has*,

as they call those who are ignorant of the *Védas*, and have not studied the language of the Gods: they have often repeated to me the fragment of an old verse, which they now use proverbially, *na níchò yavanátparah*, or *no base creature can be lower than a Yavan*; by which name they formerly meant an *Ionian* or *Greek*, and now mean a *Mogul*, or, generally, a *Muselman*. When I mentioned to different *Pandits*, at several times and in several places, the opinion of MONTUCLA, they could not prevail on themselves to oppose it by serious argument; but some laughed heartily; others, with a sarcastick smile, said it was a *pleasant imagination*; and all seemed to think it a notion bordering on phrensy. In fact, although the figures of the twelve *Indian* Signs bear a wonderful resemblance to those of the *Grecian*, yet they are too much varied for a mere copy, and the nature of the variation proves them to be original: nor is the resemblance more extraordinary than that which has often been observed between our *Gothick* days of the week and those of the *Hindus*, which are dedicated to the same luminaries, and (what is yet more singular) revolve in the same order: *Ravi*, the Sun; *Sóma*, the Moon; *Mangala*, *Tuisco*; *Budha*, *Woden*; *Vrihaspati*, *Thor*; *Sucra*, *Freya*; *Sani*, *Sater*; yet no man ever imagined, that the

Indians borrowed so remarkable an arrangement from the *Goths* or *Germans*. On the planets I will only observe, that SUCRA, the regent of *Venus*, is, like all the rest, a *male* deity, named also USANAS, and believed to be a sage of infinite learning; but ZOHRAH, the NA'HI'D of the *Persians*, is a goddess like the FREYA of our *Saxon* progenitors: the drawing, therefore, of the planets which was brought into *Bengal* by Mr. JOHNSON, relates to the *Persian* system, and represents the Genii supposed to preside over them, exactly as they are described by the poet HA'TIFI: " He bedecked the firmament
" with stars, and ennobled this earth with the
" race of men; he gently turned the auspicious new moon of the festival, like a bright
" jewel, round the angle of the sky; he placed
" the *Hindu* SATURN on the seat of that restive
" elephant, the revolving sphere, and put the
" rainbow into his hand, as a hook to coerce
" the intoxicated beast; he made silken strings
" of sun-beams for the lute of VENUS; and
" presented JUPITER, who saw the felicity of
" true religion, with a rosary of clustering
" Pleiads. The bow of the sky became that
" of MARS, when he was honoured with the
" command of the celestial host; for God
" conferred sovereignty on the Sun, and squadrons of stars were his army."

THE

THE names and forms of the lunar constellations, especially of *Bharani* and *Abhijit*, indicate a simplicity of manners peculiar to an ancient people; and they differ entirely from those of the *Arabian* system, in which the very first asterism appears in the dual number, because it consists only of two stars. *Menzil*, or *the place of alighting*, properly signifies a *station* or *stage*, and thence is used for an ordinary day's *journey*; and that idea seems better applied than *mansion* to so incessant a traveller as the Moon. The *menázilu'l kamar*, or *lunar stages*, of the *Arabs* have *twenty-eight* names in the following order, the particle *al* being understood before every word:

Sharatân.	Nathrah.	Ghafr.	Dhábih.
Bu'tain.	Tarf.	Zubáníyah.	Bulaâ.
Thurayyâ.	Jabhah.	Iclîl.	Suûd.
Debarân.	Zubrah.	Kalb.	Akhbíya.
Hakâah.	Sarfah.	Shaulah.	Mukdim.
Hanâah.	Awwâ.	Naâim.	Múkhir.
7. Dhirââ.	14. Simâc.	21. Beldah.	28. Rishâ.

Now, if we can trust the *Arabian* lexicographers, the number of stars in their several *menzils* rarely agrees with those of the *Indians*; and two such nations must naturally have observed, and might naturally have named, the principal stars, near which the moon passes in the course of each day, without any communi-

cation on the subject: there is no evidence, indeed, of a communication between the *Hindus* and *Arabs* on any subject of literature or science; for though we have reason to believe, that a commercial intercourse subsisted in very early times between *Yemen* and the western coast of *India*, yet the *Bráhmans*, who alone are permitted to read the six *Védangas*, one of which is the astronomical *Sástra*, were not then commercial, and, most probably, neither could nor would have conversed with *Arabian* merchants. The hostile irruption of the *Arabs* into *Hindustán*, in the eighth century, and that of the *Moguls* under CHENGIZ, in the thirteenth, were not likely to change the astronomical system of the *Hindus*: but the supposed consequences of *modern* revolutions are out of the question; for, if any historical records be true, we know with as positive certainty, that AMARSINH and CA'LIDA's composed their works before the birth of CHRIST, as that MENANDER and TERENCE wrote before that important epoch: now the twelve *signs* and twenty-seven *mansions* are mentioned, by the several names before exhibited, in a *Sanscrit* vocabulary by the first of those *Indian* authors, and the second of them frequently alludes to *Róbiní* and the rest by name in his *Fatal Ring*, his *Children of the Sun*, and his *Birth of CUMA'RA*; from which poem

I pro-

I produce two lines, that my evidence may not seem to be collected from mere conversation :

Maitrè muhúrtè sasalánc'h'hanéna,
Yógam gatásúttarap'halganíshu.

“ When the stars of *Uttarap'halgún* had
“ joined in a fortunate hour the faun-spotted
“ moon.”

THIS testimony being decisive against the conjecture of M. MONTUCLA, I need not urge the great antiquity of MENU's Institutes, in which the twenty-seven asterisms are called the daughters of DACSHA and the consorts of SO'MA, or the Moon, nor rely on the testimony of the *Bráhmans*, who assure me with one voice, that the names of the *Zodiacal* stars occur in the *Védas*; three of which I firmly believe, from internal and external evidence, to be more than *three thousand* years old.

HAVING therefore proved what I engaged to prove, I will close my essay with a general observation. The result of NEWTON's researches into the history of the primitive sphere was, “ that
“ the practice of observing the stars began in
“ *Egypt* in the days of AMMON, and was
“ propagated thence by conquest in the reign
“ of his son SISAC, into *Afric, Europe* and
“ *Asia*; since which time ATLAS formed the

“ sphere of the *Lybians* ; CHIRON that of the
“ *Greeks* ; and the *Chaldeans* a sphere of their
“ own.” Now I hope, on some other occasions, to satisfy the publick, as I have perfectly satisfied myself, that “ the practice of
“ observing the stars began, with the rudiments of civil society, in the country of
“ those whom we call *Chaldeans* ; from which
“ it was propagated into *Egypt, India, Greece,*
“ *Italy,* and *Scandinavia,* before the reign of
“ SISAC or SA'CYA, who by conquest spread a
“ new system of religion and philosophy from
“ the *Nile* to the *Ganges*, about a thousand
“ years before CHRIST ; but that CHIRON and
“ ATLAS were allegorical or mythological
“ personages, and ought to have no place in
“ the serious history of our species.”

DISSERTATION XIV.

THE

DESIGN OF A TREATISE

ON THE

PLANTS OF INDIA.

THE greatest, if not the only, obstacle to the progress of knowledge in these provinces, except in those branches of it which belong immediately to our several professions, is our want of leisure for general researches; and, as ARCHIMEDES, who was happily master of his time, had not space enough to move the greatest weight with the smallest force, thus we, who have ample space for our inquiries, really want *time* for the pursuit of them. “Give me a place to stand on, said the great mathematician, and I will move the whole earth:” *Give us time, we may say, for our investigations, and we will transfer to Europe all the sciences, arts, and literature of Asia.* “Not to have despaired,” however, was

C c 4

thought

thought a degree of merit in the *Roman* general, even though he was defeated; and, having some hope, that others may occasionally find more leisure, than it will ever, at least in this country, be my lot to enjoy, I take the liberty to propose a work, from which very curious information, and possibly very solid advantage, may be derived.

SOME hundreds of plants, which are yet imperfectly known to *European* botanists, and with the virtues of which they are wholly unacquainted, grow wild on the plains and in the forests of *India*: the *Amarcòsh*, an excellent vocabulary of the *Sanscrit* language, contains in one chapter the names of about three hundred medicinal vegetables; the *Mèdinì* may comprise many more; and the *Dravyābbhidhāna*, or *Dictionary of Natural Productions*, includes, I believe, a far greater number; the properties of which are distinctly related in medical tracts of approved authority. Now the first step, in compiling a treatise on the plants of *India*, should be to write their true names in *Roman* letters, according to the most accurate orthography, and in *Sanscrit* preferably to any vulgar dialect; because a learned language is fixed in books, while popular idioms are in constant fluctuation, and will not, perhaps, be understood a century hence by the inhabitants of these

these *Indian* territories, whom future botanists may consult on the common appellations of trees and flowers. The childish denominations of plants from the persons who first described them, ought wholly to be rejected; for *Champaca* and *Hinna* seem to me not only more elegant, but far properer, designations of an *Indian* and an *Arabian* plant, than *Michelia* and *Lawsonia*; nor can I see without pain, that the great *Swedish* botanist considered it as *the supreme and only reward of labour* in this part of natural history, to preserve a name by hanging it on a blossom, and that he declared this mode of promoting and adorning botany worthy of being *continued with holy reverence*; though so high an honour, he says, *ought to be conferred with chaste reserve, and not prostituted for the purpose of conciliating the good will, or eternizing the memory, of any but his chosen followers; no, not even of saints.* His list of *an hundred and fifty* such names clearly shews, that his excellent works are the true basis of his just celebrity, which would have been feebly supported by the stalk of the *Linnaea*. From what proper name the *Plantain* is called *Musa*, I do not know; but it seems to be the *Dutch* pronunciation of the *Arabick* word for that vegetable, and ought not, therefore, to have appeared in his list, though, in my opinion,

nion, it is the only rational name in the muster-roll. As to the system of LINNÆUS, it is the system of Nature, subordinate indeed to the beautiful arrangement of *natural orders*, of which he has given a rough sketch, and which may hereafter, perhaps, be completed : but the distribution of vegetables into *classes*, according to the number, length, and position of the stamens and pistils, and of those *classes* into *kinds* and *species*, according to certain marks of discrimination, will ever be found the clearest and most convenient of methods, and should therefore be studiously observed in the work which I now suggest. But I must be forgiven, if I propose to reject the *Linneæan* appellations of the twenty-four *classes*, because, although they appear to be *Greek* (and, if they really were so, that alone might be thought a sufficient objection), yet in truth they are not *Greek*, nor even formed by analogy to the language of *Grecians*; for *Polygamos*, *Monandros*, and the rest of that form, are both masculine and feminine; *Polyandria*, in the abstract, never occurs, and *Polyandrion* means a publick cemetery; *Diœcia* and *Diœcus* are not found in books of authority; nor, if they were, would they be derived from *dis*, but from *dia*, which would include the *Triœcia*: let me add, that the *twelfth* and *thirteenth* classes are ill distinguished by their

their appellations, independently of other exceptions to them, since the real distinction between them consists not so much in the number of their stamens, as in the *place* where they are inserted; and that the *fourteenth* and *fifteenth* are not more accurately discriminated by two words formed in defiance of grammatical analogy, since there are but *two* powers, or two *diversities of length*, in each of those classes. *Calycopolyandros* might, perhaps, not inaccurately denote a flower of the *twelfth* class; but such a compound would still savour of barbarism or pedantry; and the best way to amend such a system of words is to efface it, and supply its place by a more simple nomenclature, which may easily be found. Numerals may be used for the *eleven* first classes, the former of two numbers being always appropriated to the *stamens*, and the latter to the *pistils*: short phrases, as, *on the calyx or calice, in the receptacle, two long, four long, from one base, from two, or many, bases, with anthers connected, on the pistils, in two flowers, in two distinct plants, mixed, concealed*, or the like, will answer every purpose of discrimination; but I do not offer this as a perfect substitute for the words which I condemn. The allegory of *sexes* and *nuptials*, even if it were complete, ought, I think, to be discarded, as unbecoming the gravity of
men,

men; who, while they search for truth, have no business to inflame their imaginations; and, while they profess to give descriptions, have nothing to do with metaphors: few passages in *Aloisia*, the most impudent book ever composed by man, are more wantonly indecent than the hundred-forty-sixth number of the *Botanical Philosophy*, and the broad comment of its grave author, who dares, like OCTAVIUS in his epigram, to speak with Roman simplicity; nor can the *Linnean* description of the *Arum*, and many other plants, be read in *English* without exciting ideas, which the occasion does not require. Hence it is, that no well-born and well-educated woman can be advised to amuse herself with botany, as it is now explained, though a more elegant and delightful study, or one more likely to assist and embellish other female accomplishments, could not possibly be recommended.

WHEN the *Sanscrit* names of the *Indian* plants have been correctly written in a large paper-book, one page being appropriated to each, the fresh plants themselves, procured in their respective seasons, must be concisely, but accurately, *classed* and *described*; after which their several uses in medicine, diet, or manufactures, may be collected, with the assistance of *Hindu* physicians, from the medical books in
Sanscrit,

Sanscrit, and their accounts either disproved or established by repeated experiments, as fast as they can be made with exactness.

By way of example, I annex the descriptions of five *Indian* plants, but am unable, at this season, to re-examine them, and wholly despair of leisure to exhibit others, of which I have collected the names, and most of which I have seen in blossom.

I. MUCHUCUNDA.

Twenty, from One Base.

Cal. Five-parted, thick; leaflets, oblong.

Cor. Five petals, oblong.

Stam. From twelve to fifteen, rather long, fertile; five shorter, sterile. In some flowers, the *unprolific* stamens, longer.

Pist. Style cylindrick.

Peric. A capsule, with five cells, many-seeded.

Seeds: Roundish, compressed, winged.

Leaves: Of many different shapes.

Uses: The quality, refrigerant.

ONE flower, steeped a whole night in a glass of water, forms a cooling mucilage of use in virulent gonorrhœas. The *Muchucunda*, called also *Pichuca*, is exquisitely fragrant: its calyx is covered with an odoriferous dust; and the
dried

dried flowers in fine powder, taken like snuff, are said, in a *Sanscrit* book, almost instantaneously to remove a nervous head-ach.

Note, This plant differs a little from the *Pentapetes* of LINNÆUS.

II. BILVA OR MA'LU'RA.

Many on the Receptacle, and One.

Cal. Four, or five, cleft, beneath.

Cor. Four, or five, petals; mostly reflex.

Stam. Forty, to forty-eight, filaments; anthers, mostly erect.

Pist. *Germ*, roundish; *Style*, smooth, short; *Stigma*, clubbed.

Peric. A spheroidal berry, very large; many-seeded.

Seeds: Toward the surface, ovate, in a pellucid mucus.

Leaves: Ternate; common petiole, long; leaflets, subovate; obtusely notched, with short petioles; some almost lanced.

Stem: Armed with sharp thorns.

Uses: The fruit nutritious, warm, cathartic; in taste, delicious; in fragrance, exquisite: its aperient and deterfive quality, and its efficacy in removing habitual costiveness, have been proved by constant experience. The mucus of the seed is, for some purposes, a very good cement.

Note:

Note, This fruit is called *Srip'hala*, because it sprang, say the *Indian* poets, from the milk of *Sri*, the goddess of abundance, who bestowed it on mankind at the request of *ISWARA*, whence he alone wears a chaplet of *Bilva* flowers; to him only the *Hindus* offer them; and, when they see any of them fallen on the ground, they take them up with reverence, and carry them to his temple. From the first blossom of this plant that I could inspect, I had imagined that it belonged to the same class with the *Durio*, because the filaments appeared to be distributed in five sets; but in all that I have since examined, they are perfectly distinct.

III. SRINGA'TACA.

Four and One.

Cal. Four-cleft, with a long peduncle, above.

Cor. Four petals.

Stam. Anthers, kidney-shaped.

Pist. *Germ*, roundish; *Style*, long as the filaments; *Stigma*, clubbed.

Seed: A *Nut* with four opposite angles (two of them *sharp* thorns) formed by the *Calyx*.

Leaves: Those which float on the water, are rhomboïdal; the two upper sides unequally notched; the two lower, right lines. Their petioles,

petioles, buoyed up by spindle-shaped spongy substances, not bladders.

Root : Knotty, like coral.

Uses : The fresh kernel, in sweetness and delicacy, equals that of the filberd. A mucus, secreted by minute glands, covers the wet leaves, which are considered as cooling.

Note, It seems to be the floating *Trapa* of LINNÆUS.

IV. PUTICARAJA.

Ten and One.

Cal. Five-cleft.

Cor. Five equal petals.

Peric. A thorny legumen ; two seeds.

Leaves : Oval, pinnated.

Stem : Armed.

Uses : The seeds are very bitter, and, perhaps, tonick ; since one of them bruised and given in two doses, will, as the *Hindus* assert, cure an intermittent fever,

V. MADHUCA.

Many, *not* on the Receptacle, and One.

Cal. *Perianth* four, or five, leaved.

Cor. One-petaled. *Tube* inflated, fleshy.

Border nine, or ten, parted.

Stam.

Stam. Anthers from twelve to twenty-eight, erect, acute, subvillous.

Pist. Germ. roundish; *Style*, long, awl-shaped.

Peric. A *Drupe*, with two or three *Nuts*.

Leaves: Oval, somewhat pointed,

Uses: The tubes, esculent, nutritious; yielding, by distillation, an inebriating spirit, which, if the sale of it were duly restrained by law, might be applied to good purposes. A useful oil is expressed from the seed.

Note, It resembles the *Bassia* of KOENIG.

SUCH would be the method of the work which I recommend; but even the specimen which I exhibit might, in skilful hands, have been more accurate. Engravings of the plants may be annexed; but I have more than once experienced, that the best anatomical and botanical prints give a very inadequate, and sometimes a very false, notion of the objects which they were intended to represent. As we learn a new language, by reading approved compositions in it with the aid of a Grammar and Dictionary, so we can only study with effect the natural history of vegetables by analysing the plants themselves with the *Philosophia Botanica*, which is the *Grammar*, and the *Genera et Species Plantarum*, which may be considered as the *Dictionary*, of that beautiful language,

in which nature would teach us what plants we must avoid as noxious, and what we must cultivate as salutary ; for that the qualities of plants are *in some degree* connected with the *natural orders* and *classes* of them, a number of instances would abundantly prove.

DIS-

DISSERTATION XV.

ON THE

SPIKENARD

OF THE

ANCIENTS.

IT is painful to meet perpetually with words that convey no distinct ideas : and a natural desire of avoiding that pain excites us often to make inquiries, the result of which can have no other use than to give us clear conceptions. Ignorance is to the mind what extreme darkness is to the nerves : both cause an uneasy sensation ; and we naturally love knowledge, as we love light, even when we have no design of applying either to a purpose essentially useful. This is intended as an apology for the pains which have been taken to procure a determinate answer to a question of no apparent utility, but which ought to be readily answered in *India*, “ What “ is *Indian Spikenard* ? ” All agree, that it is an odoriferous plant, the best sort of which, according to *PTOLEMY*, grew about *Rangamritica* or *Rangamati*, and on the borders of the

country now called *Butàn* : it is mentioned by DIOSCORIDES, whose work I have not in my possession ; but his description of it must be very imperfect, since neither LINNÆUS nor any of his disciples pretend to class it with certainty, and, in the latest botanical work that we have received from *Europe*, it is marked as *unknown*. I had no doubt, before I was personally acquainted with KOENIG, that he had ascertained it ; but he assured me, that he knew not what the *Greek* writers meant by the nard of *India* ; he had found, indeed, and described a sixth species of the nardus, which is called *Indian* in the Supplement to *Linnaeus* ; but the *nardus* is a grass, which, though it bear a *Spike*, no man ever supposed to be the *true* Spikenard, which the great Botanical Philosopher himself was inclined to think a species of *Andropogon*, and places, in his *Materia Medica*, but with an expression of doubt, among his polygamous plants. Since the death of KOENIG I have consulted every botanist and physician with whom I was acquainted, on the subject before us ; but all have confessed without reserve, though not without some regret, that they were ignorant what was meant by the *Indian* Spikenard.

IN order to procure information from the learned natives, it was necessary to know the

name

name of the plant in some *Asiatick* language. The very word *nard* occurs in the Song of SOLOMON ; but the name and the thing were both exotick : the *Hebrew* lexicographers imagine both to be *Indian* ; but the word is in truth *Persian*, and occurs in the following distich of an old poet :

A'n chu bîkhest, ín chu nardest, án chu shákhest, ín chu bâr,
A'n chu bîkhî páyidârest, ín chu nardî páyidâr.

It is not easy to determine in this couplet, whether *nard* mean the *stem*, or, as ANJU' explains it, the *pith* ; but it is manifestly a part of a vegetable, and neither the *root*, the *fruit*, nor the *branch*, which are all separately named : the *Arabs* have borrowed the word *nard*, but in the sense, as we learn from the *Kámûs*, of a compound medicinal unguent. Whatever it signified in old *Persian*, the *Arabick* word *sumbul*, which, like *sumbalah*, means an *ear* or *spike*, has long been substituted for it ; and there can be no doubt, that by the *sumbul* of *India* the *Muselmâns* understand the same plant with the *nard* of PTOLEMY and the *Nardostachys*, or *Spikenard*, of GALEN ; who, by the way, was deceived by the dry specimens which he had seen, and mistook them for *roots*.

A SINGULAR description of the *sumbul* by ABU'LF AZL, who frequently mentions it as an

ingredient in *Indian* perfumes, had for some time almost convinced me, that the *true Spikenard* was the *Cétaca*, or *Pandanus* of our botanists : his words are, *Sumbul panj berg dâred, ceb dirâzi an dah angoshtestu pahnâi seb* : or, “The *sumbul* has
 “ five leaves, ten fingers long, and three
 “ broad.” Now I well knew, that the minister of ACBAR was not a botanist, and might easily have mistaken a thyrsus for a single flower : I had seen no blossom, or assemblage of blossoms, of such dimensions, except the male *Cétaca* ; and though the *Persian* writer describes the female as a different plant, by the vulgar name *Cyôra*, yet such a mistake might naturally have been expected in such a work : but what most confirmed my opinion, was the exquisite fragrance of the *Cétaca* flower, which to my sense far surpassed the richest perfumes of *Europe* or *Asia*. Scarce a doubt remained, when I met with a description of the *Cétaca* by FORSKOHL, whose words are so perfectly applicable to the general idea which we are apt to form of *Spikenard*, that I give you a literal translation of them : “The *Pandanus* is an incomparable plant, and cultivated for its odour,
 “ which it breathes so richly, that one or two
 “ Spikes, in a situation rather humid, would
 “ be sufficient to diffuse an odoriferous air for
 “ a long time through a spacious apartment ;
 “ so

" so that the natives in general are not solicit-
 " ous about the living plants, but *purchase the*
 " *Spikes at a great price.*" I learned also, that
 a fragrant essential oil was extracted from the
 flowers ; and I procured from *Banâres* a large
 phial of it, which was adulterated with sandal ;
 but the very adulteration convinced me, that
 the genuine essence must be valuable, from the
 great number of thyrsi that must be required
 in preparing a small quantity of it. Thus had
 I nearly persuaded myself, that the true nard
 was to be found on the banks of the *Ganges*,
 where the *Hindu* women roll up its flowers in
 their long black hair after bathing in the holy
 river ; and I imagined, that the *precious ala-*
baster box mentioned in the Scripture, and the
small onyx, in exchange for which the poet of-
 fers to entertain his friend with *a cask of old*
wine, contained an essence of the same kind,
 though differing in its degree of purity, with
 the nard which I had procured : but an *Arab*
 of *Mecca*, who saw in my study some flowers of
 the *Cétaca*, informed me, that the plant was
 extremely common in *Arabia*, where it was
 named *Câdbî* ; and several *Mahomedans* of rank
 and learning have since assured me, that the
 true name of the *Indian Sumbul* was not *Cétaca*,
 but *Jatâmânsî*. This was important informa-
 tion ; finding therefore, that the *Pandanus* was

not peculiar to *Hindustán*, and considering that the *Sumbul* of ABU'LEAZL differed from it in the precise number of leaves on the thyrsus, in the colour, and in the season of flowering, though the length and breadth corresponded very nearly, I abandoned my first opinion, and began to inquire eagerly for the *Jatámánsi*, which grew, I was told, in the garden of a learned and ingenious friend, and fortunately was then in blossom. A fresh plant was very soon brought to me: it appeared on inspection to be a most elegant *Cyperus* with a polished three-sided culm, an umbella with three or four ensiform leaflets minutely serrated, naked proliferous peduncles, crowded spikes, expanded daggers; and its branchy root had a pungent taste with a faint aromatick odour; but no part of it bore the least resemblance to the drug known in *Europe* by the appellation of *Spikenard*; and a *Muselman* physician from *Dehli* assured me positively, that the plant was not *Jatámánsi*, but *Súd*, as it is named in *Arabick*, which the author of the *Tohfatü'l Mümenin* particularly distinguishes from the *Indian Sumbul*. He produced on the next day an extract from the Dictionary of Natural History, to which he had referred; and I present you with a translation of all that is material in it.

“ 1. *SUD* has a roundish olive-shaped root;
 “ externally black, but white internally, and
 “ so

“ so fragrant as to have obtained in *Persia* the
 “ name of *Subterranean Musk*: its leaf has
 “ some resemblance to that of a leek, but is
 “ longer and narrower, strong, somewhat
 “ rough at the edges, and tapering to a point.
 “ 2. *SUMBUL* means a *spike* or *ear*, and was
 “ called *nard* by the *Greeks*. There are three
 “ sorts of *Sumbul* or *Nardin*; but, when the
 “ word stands alone, it means the *Sumbul* of
 “ *India*, which is an herb *without flower or*
 “ *fruit* (he speaks of the drug only), like the
 “ tail of an ermine, or of a small weasel, but
 “ not quite so thick, and about the length of a
 “ finger. It is darkish, inclining to yellow,
 “ and very fragrant: it is brought from *Hin-*
 “ *dustán*, and its medicinal virtue lasts three
 “ years.” It was easy to procure the dry *Já-*
támánsi, which corresponded perfectly with the
 description of the *Sumbul*; and though a native
Muselmán afterwards gave me a *Persian* paper,
 written by himself, in which he represents the
Sumbul of *India*, the *Sweet Sumbul*, and the *Já-*
támánsi as three different plants, yet the autho-
 rity of the *Tobfatu’l Múmenín* is decisive, that
 the *sweet Sumbul* is only another denomination
 of *nard*, and the physician, who produced that
 authority, brought, as a specimen of *Sumbul*,
 the very same drug, which my *Pandit*, who
 is also a physician, brought as a specimen of the
Játamánsi:

Jatámánsi: a *Bráhmen* of eminent learning gave me a parcel of the same sort, and told me that it was used in their sacrifices; that, when fresh, it was exquisitely sweet, and added much to the scent of rich essences, in which it was a principal ingredient; that the merchants brought it from the mountainous country to the north-east of *Bengal*; that it was the entire plant, not a part of it, and received its *Sanscrit* names from its resemblance to *locks of hair*; as it is called *Spikenard*, I suppose, from its resemblance to a Spike, when it is dried, and not from the configuration of its flowers, which the *Greeks*, probably, never examined. The *Persian* author describes the whole plant as resembling the tail of an ermine; and the *Jatámánsi*, which is manifestly the *Spiknard* of our drug-gifts, has precisely that form, consisting of withered stalks and ribs of leaves, cohering in a bundle of yellowish brown capillary fibres, and constituting a spike about the size of a small finger. We may on the whole be assured, that the *nardus* of PTOLEMY, the *Indian Sumbul* of the *Persians* and *Arabs*, the *Jatámánsi* of the *Hindus*, and the *Spikenard* of our shops, are one and the same plant; but to what class and genus it belongs in the *Linnean* system, can only be ascertained by an inspection of the fresh blossoms. Dr. PATRICK RUSSEL, who always

ways communicates with obliging facility his extensive and accurate knowledge, informed me by letter, that “Spikenard is carried over the “Desert (from *India* I presume) to *Aleppo*, “where it is used in substance, mixed with “other perfumes, and worn in small bags, or “in the form of essence, and kept in little boxes “or phials, like *átar* of roses.” He is persuaded, and so am I, that the *Indian* nard of the ancients, and that of our shops, is one and the same vegetable.

THOUGH diligent researches have been made at my request on the borders of *Bengal* and *Behár*, yet the *Jatámánsi* has not been found growing in any part of the *British* territories. Mr. SAUNDERS, who met with it in *Bután*, where, as he was informed, it is very common, and whence it is brought in a dry state to *Rangpur*, has no hesitation in pronouncing it a species of the *Baccharis*; and since it is not possible that he could mistake the *natural* order and *essential character* of the plant, which he examined, I had no doubt that the *Jatámánsi* was composite and corymbiferous, with stamens connected by the anthers, and with female prolifick florets intermixed with hermaphrodites: the word *Spike* was not used by the ancients with botanical precision, and the *Stachys* itself is verticillated, with only two species out of fifteen, that could

could justify its generick appellation. I therefore concluded, that *the true Spikenard* was a *Baccharis*, - and that, while the philosopher had been searching for it to no purpose,

the dull swain

Trod on it daily with his clouted shoon;

for the *Baccharis*, it seems, as well as the *Conyza*, is called by our gardeners, *Ploughman's Spikenard*. I suspected, nevertheless, that the plant which Mr. SAUNDERS described was not *Jatámánsi*, because I knew that the people of *Bután* had no such name for it, but distinguished it by very different names in different parts of their hilly country : I knew also, that the *Butias*, who set a greater value on the drug than it seems, as a perfume, to merit, were extremely reserved in giving information concerning it, and might be tempted, by the narrow spirit of monopoly, to mislead an inquirer for the fresh plant. The friendly zeal of Mr. PURLING will probably procure it in a state of vegetation ; for, when he had the kindness, at my desire, to make inquiries for it among the *Bután* merchants, they assured him, that the living plants could not be obtained without an order from their sovereign the *Dévarájà*, to whom he immediately dispatched a messenger with an earnest request, that eight
or

or ten of the growing plants might be sent to him at *Rangpúr* : should the *Dévarāja* comply with that request, and should the vegetable flourish in the plain of *Bengal*, we shall have ocular proof of its class, order, genus, and species ; and, if it prove the same with the *Jatámánsi* of *Népál*, which I now must introduce to your acquaintance, the question, with which I began this essay, will be satisfactorily answered.

HAVING traced the *Indian* Spikenard, by the name of *Jatámánsi*, to the mountains of *Népál*, I requested my friend Mr. LAW, who then resided at *Gayá*, to procure some of the recent plants by the means of the *Népalese* pilgrims ; who being orthodox *Hindus*, and possessing many rare books in the *Sanscrit* language, were more likely than the *Butias* to know the true *Jatámánsi*, by which name they generally distinguish it : many young plants were accordingly sent to *Gayá*, with a *Persian* letter specifically naming them, and apparently written by a man of rank and literature ; so that no suspicion of deception or of error can be justly entertained. By a mistake of the gardener, they were all planted at *Gayá*, where they have blossomed, and at first seemed to flourish : I must, therefore, describe the *Jatámánsi* from the report of Mr. BURT, who favoured me with a drawing of
of

of it, and in whose accuracy we may perfectly confide ; but, before I produce the description, I must endeavour to remove a prejudice, in regard to the *natural order* of the spikenard, which they, who are addicted to swear by every word of their master LINNÆUS, will hardly abandon, and which I, who love truth better than him, have abandoned with some reluctance. *Nard* has been generally supposed to be a *grass* ; and the word *stachys* or *spike*, which agrees with the habit of that natural order, gave rise, perhaps, to the supposition. There is a plant in *Java*, which most travellers and some physicians call *spikenard* ; and the Governor of *Chinsura*, who is kindly endeavouring to procure it thence in a state fit for examination, writes me word, that “ a *Dutch* author pronounces it a *grass like the Cypirus*, but insists that what we call the *spike* is the fibrous part above the root, as long as a man’s little finger, of a brownish hue inclining to red or yellow, rather fragrant, and with a pungent, but aromack, scent.” This is too slovenly a description to have been written by a botanist ; yet I believe the latter part of it to be tolerably correct, and should imagine that the plant was the same with our *Jatámansi*, if it were not commonly asserted, that the *Javan* spikenard was used as a condiment, and if a well-

well-informed man, who had seen it in the island, had not assured me, that it was a sort of *Pimento*, and consequently a species of *Myrtle*, and of the order now called *Hesperian*. The resemblance before mentioned between the *Indian Sumbul* and the *Arabian Sūd*, or *Cypirus*, had led me to suspect, that the true nard was a grass or a reed; and as this country abounds in odoriferous grasses, I began to collect them from all quarters. Colonel KYN obligingly sent me two plants with sweet-smelling roots; and as they were known to the *Pandits*, I soon found their names in a *Sanscrit* dictionary: one of them is called *gandhasat'hì*, and used by the *Hindus* to scent the red powder of *Sapan* or *Bakkam* wood, which they scatter in the festival of the vernal season; the other has many names, and, among them, *nágaramastac* and *gónarda*, the second of which means *rustling in the water*; for all the *Pandits* insist, that *nard* is never used as a noun in *Sanscrit*, and signifies, as the root of a verb, *to sound* or *to rustle*. Soon after, Mr. BURROW brought me, from the banks of the *Ganges* near *Heridwâr*, a very fragrant grass, which in some places covers whole acres, and diffuses, when crushed, so strong an odour, that a person, he says, might easily have smelt it, as ALEXANDER is reported to have smelt the nard of *Gedrosia*, from the back of an elephant: its blossoms

were

were not preserved, and it cannot, therefore, be described. From Mr. BLANE of *Lucnow* I received a fresh plant, which has not flowered at *Calcutta*; but I rely implicitly on his authority, and have no doubt that it is a species of *Andropogon*: it has rather a rank aromack odour, and, from the virtue ascribed to it of curing intermittent fevers, is known by the *Sanscrit* name of *jwarāncusa*, which literally means a *fever-hook*, and alludes to the *iron-hook* with which elephants are managed. Lastly, Dr. ANDERSON of *Madras*, who delights in useful pursuits and in assisting the pursuits of others, favoured me with a complete specimen of the *Andropogon Nardus*, one of the most common grasses on the Coast, and flourishing most luxuriantly on the mountains, never eaten by cattle, but extremely grateful to bees, and containing an essential oil, which, he understands, is extracted from it in many parts of *Hindustàn*, and used as an *atar* or *perfume*. He adds a very curious philological remark, that, in the *Tamul* dictionary, most words beginning with *nár* have some relation to *fragrance*; as *nárukeradu* to yield an odour, *nártum pillu*, lemon-grass, *nártei*, citron, *nárta manum*, the wild orange-tree, *nárum panei*, the *Indian Jasmine*, *nárum alleri*, a strong smelling flower, and *nártu*, which is put for *nard* in the *Tamul* version

version of our Scriptures : so that not only the *nard* of the *Hebrews* and *Greeks*, but even the *copia narium* of *HORACE*, may be derived from an *Indian* root : to this I can only say, that I have not met with any such root in *Sanscrit*, the oldest polished language of *India*, and that in *Persian*, which has a manifest affinity with it, *nâr* means a *pomegranate*, and *nârgîl* (a word originally *Sanscrit*) a *cocoa-nut*, neither of which has any remarkable fragrance.

SUCH is the evidence in support of the opinion, given by the great *Swedish* naturalist, that the true *nard* was a gramineous plant and a species of *Andropogon* ; but since no grass, that I have yet seen, bears any resemblance to the *Jatamânsî*, which I conceive to be the *nardus* of the ancients, I beg leave to express my dissent, with some confidence as a philologer, though with humble diffidence as a student in botany. I am not, indeed, of opinion, that the *nardum* of the *Romans* was merely the essential oil of the plant, from which it was denominated, but am strongly inclined to believe, that it was a *generick* word, meaning what we now call *âtar*, and either the *âtar* of roses from *Cashmir* and *Persia*, that of *Cétaca*, or *Pandanus*, from the western coast of *India*, or that of *Aguru*, or aloe-wood, from *Asam* or *Cochinchina*, the process of obtaining which is described by *ABU'LEAZL*, or the mixed perfume called *âbîr*, of which the principal ingredients

were yellow sandal, violets, orange-flowers, wood of aloes, rose-water, musk, and true spikenard : all those essences and compositions were costly ; and most of them being sold by the *Indians* to the *Persians* and *Arabs*, from whom, in the times of OCTAVIUS, they were received by the *Syrians* and *Romans*, they must have been extremely dear at *Jerusalem* and at *Rome*. There might also have been a pure *nardine oil*, as ATHENÆUS calls it ; but *nardum* probably meant (and KOENIG was of the same opinion) an *Indian* essence in general, taking its name from that ingredient which had, or was commonly thought to have, the most exquisite scent. But I have been drawn by a pleasing subject to a greater length than I expected, and proceed to the promised description of the *true nard*, or *Jatámánsi*, which, by the way, has other names in the *Ama cósh*, the smoothest of which are *jatilá* and *lómásh*, both derived from words meaning *hair*. Mr. BURT, after a modest apology for his imperfect acquaintance with the language of botanists, has favoured me with an account of the plant, on the correctness of which I have a perfect reliance, and from which I collect the following *natural characters* :

AGGREGATE.

Cal. Scarce any. *Margin*, hardly discernible.

Cor

OF THE ANCIENTS.

Cor. One petal. *Tube* somewhat gibbous.
Border five cleft.

Stam. Three *Anthems*.

Pist. *Germ* beneath. One *Style* erect.

Seed Solitary, crowned with a pappus.

Root Fibrous.

Leaves Hearted, fourfold; *radical* leaves petioled.

It appears, therefore, to be the *Protean* plant VALERIAN, a sister of the Mountain and *Celtick* Nard, and of a species which I should describe in the *Linnean* style, VALE-RIANA JATA'MA'NSI floribus triandrⁱ liis cordatis quaternis, radicalibus petiolatis. The radical leaves, rising from the ground and enfolding the young stem, are plucked up with a part of the root, and, being dried in the sun, or by an artificial heat, are sold as a drug, which from its appearance has been called *spike-nard*; though, as the *Persian* writer observes, it might be compared more properly to the tail of an ermine: when nothing remains but the dry fibres of the leaves, which retain their original form, they have some resemblance to a lock of hair, from which the *Sanscrit* name, it seems, is derived. Two mercantile agents from *Bután* on the part of the *Dévarája* were examined, at my request, by Mr. HARRINGTON, and informed him, that the drug which the *Bengalese* call *Jatámánsi*, "grew erect above
" the

ON THE SPIKENARD, &c.

“ the surface of the ground, resembling in
“ colour an ear of green wheat ; that, when
“ recent, it had a faint odour, which was
“ greatly increased by the simple process of
“ drying it ; that it abounded on the hills, and
“ even on the plains, of *Bután*, where it was
“ collected and prepared for medicinal pur-
“ poses.” What its virtues are, experience
alone can ascertain ; but, as far as botanical ana-
logy can justify a conjecture, we may suppose
them to be antispasmodick ; and in our pro-
vinces, especially in *Behar*, the plant will prob-
ably flourish ; so that we may always procure
it in due fit for experiment. On the proposed
enquiry into the virtues of this celebrated plant,
I must be permitted to say, that although many
botanists may have wasted their time in enu-
merating the qualities of vegetables, without
having ascertained them by repeated and satis-
factory experiments, and although *mere botany*
goes no farther, than technical arrangement and
description, yet it seems indubitable, that the
great end and aim of a botanical philosopher is,
to discover and prove the several uses of the
vegetable system, and, while he admits with
HIPPOCRATES the *fallaciousness of experience*,
to rely on experiment alone as the basis of his
knowledge.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

ON THE SPIKENARD, &c.

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